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COVER

THE REAL KIM CAMPBELL

She presents herself as a gifted and determined woman who has excelled at almost everything she has attempted. The designate cover suggests that she will become the new leader of the Conservative party next month, and Canada's first female prime minister. But there is a less laudable side to Kim Campbell's ambition. At times, she seems to resent her critics as much their criticism. —16

LIFESTYLES

FLOWER POWER

Green-thumbed Canadians, gloved and armed, are about to launch the annual crusade to create gardens that will make last year's look pale by comparison. But some gardeners say that mass marketing and cut-rate fashion play too large a part in the country's present summertime passion. —40



BUSINESS

CANADA INC.

That venerable institution, Canadian Pacific Ltd., is struggling to reinvent itself as a focused and internationally competitive company. But the attempt is forcing management to make tough decisions about the enterprises that made an integral part of the national consciousness its strengths.





The Kim Factor

From the stand of the Conservative party, an outsider would hardly know that delegates were poised to elect a new prime minister of Canada next month, possibly even the first woman in Canadian history. There seems to be so little power, so little gravitas about the race. Perhaps it is the main mood of the times for folks in high office. But the Kim Factor, explored in this week's cover story, is also a reason. The polls and delegate counts indicate that Vancouver lawyer Kim Campbell will be the likely winner. But the prominent cabinet ministers either supporting her chief rival, Jean Chretien, or sitting on their hands make you wonder what they know that the nation does not.

The fact is, there is a high degree of unease about Campbell among her cabinet colleagues, and in senior reaches of the party. Even her top supporters like some show her "sensibility" over her vision—and rarely, if ever, about her policies. Part of the problem may be that she is a woman facing the slings of a male-dominated political sport. Some of it is reminiscent of the vocalized opposition to Pierre Trudeau in the 1968 Liberal leadership ("Don't let that bastard win it," harked Judy Laibman). But Campbell also has left many colleagues with the sinking feeling that she is more interested in getting there than in what to do when she gets there.

On a measure of the valuable state of party affairs that a Senior Party Strategist (SPS) sounds that two or three prominent Conservative insiders, including Jim Clark, are still considering a late entry into the leadership race. As unlikely as that sounds, the SPS maintains that the court is favourable to the party's nomination in Ottawa next month so that the plaudits of support could likely be won in a grapple at the head of the Civic Conference.

The latest delectable crumbley-belly suggestion is that Campbell is in deep trouble. But here is not yet a campaign with a tell-all at issue. With her words in go, she has yet to demonstrate that there is some there, there.

Robert Lewis



RON HODGSON/CONTRIBUTOR

Career aunts Mary Simon and Karen Peltier, a mother-daughter arrangement provided a high degree of seniorитет for Campbell among her cabinet colleagues and in the party.

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CANADA'S LEADING NEWSPAPER

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LETTERS

No patience

One of the many tragedies of the Waco, Texas, holocaust was the apparent incompetence of the FBI and other American agencies ("One dead, one died," Cover, May 3). Even with recent historical precedents as a guide, the two agents in protecting the arsonists David Koresh and his cultists had reason to consider the gravity of what they were doing. The belief technically held by Koresh's commandos and an Enron-like posse one alternative that might have been followed. An even more likely alternative would have been to simply wait longer. When commandos saw the patient year-long delay after the first hostage-taking incident, the two negotiators at Waco sends a bloodstained message about the 1800s' quickfix mentality.

David Neary,
Perry Sound, Ont.

Cup runneth over

Your observation of the Stanley Cup competition ("Our game," Cover, April 20) has made that much a collector's item. But now, a word of criticism directed at NHL commissioner Gary Bettman: Why is the NHL denying North American fans the opportunity of playing professional hockey by allowing foreign exports into the league? Let us develop our own talent and leave the European stars at home.

Charles Brack,
Weyburn, Sask.

For many, many thousands of young Canadians, hockey is being replaced by basketball as the game of choice. Their parents don't understand it, so they don't try to organize it to teach. They don't set up 10-year seasons for their 10-year-olds. They can't respect every kid to make the team. Parents leave the kids alone with their basketball and the kids organize themselves. The kids have fun. What a novel idea.

Morris Wacht,
Vaudre, Mass.

Nuclear insurance

In the story about Ontario Hydro ("A string of 'no's," Business, April 20), David Brown of the C.D. Howe Institute is quoted as saying, "Nuclear assets are unprofitable. No private investor could—or would—fund the inherent risk. That is simply untrue."



Bonfire vigil organized at Waco, Texas, sending a bloodstained message

Under the Nuclear Liability Act, all nuclear power station operators are forced to carry \$35 million of third-party liability insurance. This coverage is provided by the Nuclear Insurance Association of Canada, a consortium of private insurance companies. Since the act came into force in 1988, Canada's 14 nuclear utilities have paid tens of millions of dollars in premiums to the private insurance industry. Thanks to the superb safety record of Canada's nuclear reactors, not a penny has been paid out in claims.

Godwin Sun,
Vancouver, Ont.

The debt dilemma

Debt is a factor, not an anchor. Peter G. Meier should get off the debt as the only issue ("We don't crush it, debt will destroy us," Business Watch, April 20). Let's see him address the real problem—the other component of the debt/gross domestic product ratio—increasing the cost. That is the fundamental that has to be made right and, as in the corporate world, the debt will look after itself.

R. M. Bennett,
Ottawa

Perhaps Canada and the provinces should consider a definition of this debt/repayment. Countries other countries have done it and they are still with us. Of course, from this point on, governments will have to balance their budgets, so that they do not have to borrow money in the international money markets again to fulfill their obligations. That's difficult

ing on the longs better than isolating ourselves and our children and our children's children in order to live this stable economy?

Mark Jerome,
Gatineau, Ont.

Correcting bigotry

Alec Fotheringham complains about the current "flood tide of political correctness" ("Can Shakespeare? Outlaw Shakes," Column, May 3). He had better get used to it because more and more people will challenge our common prejudices—racism, sexism and homophobia—wherever they occur. We don't have to drag history, past and present, until it is remedied.

A. C. Brown,
Toronto

If I had teenage children now, I would do everything possible to see that they saw *Shaw's* *Blot* as it was originally produced. I would say to them "This play is an appropriate heritage, or cushion, of that time. Some changes have occurred since then, but they took seven generations of intelligent effort. Have faith that you are comfortable in the choices you choose, but remember that you might be senior citizens before you see the results." We cannot deny our history. By knowing it, we can expand our present and continue to have hope for the future.

W. T. Sherman,
Sudley, B.C.

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OPENING NOTES

A reunion at the White House, faint praise for Wells and rocking the Liberals

The lonely farewell

When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney travelled to all 13 provinces last year, more than 20 journalists accompanied him. But when his four-day, round-the-European-fairways tour kicked off last week, the sole foreign Prime Minister had little company from members of the media. Granted, Ken Lawrence of TSN-TV, a part-funded service that provides interview clips to television stations, was along for the ride. But only half a dozen independent journalists sheltered out the \$4,000 a day to accompany Mulroney on his



Mulroney with Senate colleague Jean Chrétien

CLASS OF '68

The year 1968 was a turbulent one for many young Americans. The Vietnam War confronted millions of draft-age males with a wrenching moral dilemma. The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Bobby Kennedy shattered what remained of youthful innocence. And on college campuses across the country, angry students tossed textbooks for protest signs, cancelled exams and boycotted other traditional rites of passage that seemed frivolous. "First Ring, then Reunion" and Vietnam War veterans "came in as our senior year," says Georgetown University graduate Paul Mulroy. Now, Mulroy is helping to organize a 25th-anniversary class reunion in Washington next month that he hopes will give 100 fellow graduates a chance to experience some of the fun they missed in 1968. Among the alumni, President Bill Clinton, who is making good on a campaign promise to host the reunion. "He said that it was the election party to the White House," says Mulroy. "He's a guy who's got trouble keeping his promises to the American people, but he is keeping the one to his classmates."



Paul Mulroy

Compiled by Brian Bellmore

POP MOVIES

Top movies at Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending on May 5. (In brackets, number of screens/weeks showing)

- 1 *Induced Proposal* (119/8) — \$902,000
- 2 *Benny & Joon* (30/96) — \$497,000
- 3 *Julien's Dream* (6/72) — \$466,000
- 4 *Splitting Home* (57/10) — \$220,100
- 5 *The Dark Half* (9/12) — \$212,000
- 6 *Cop and a Half* (11/13) — \$167,000
- 7 *The Crying Game* (6/22) — \$159,000
- 8 *The Starlet* (6/28) — \$141,000
- 9 *Shakes* (21/10) — \$123,000
- 10 *The Big L* (6/19) — \$112,000

Courtesy: Entertainment Weekly Inc.

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BEST-SELLER LIST

FICITION

- 1 *Self-Rel.* Jason Goulet (22)
- 2 *Madame Bovary* Gustave Flaubert (3)
- 3 *The Circuit* (11) Gail Carriger (4)
- 4 *The Reader* of Madeline County: Sister Sister (22)
- 5 *Trying to Save Piggy Seated*, Jason Argoff (5)
- 6 *I'm For Judgment*, Sue Sherriff (5)
- 7 *No Other Life*, Diana Mason
- 8 *A Suitable Boy*, Vikram Seth (8)
- 9 *Green Grass, Running Water*, Thomas King (6)
- 10 *The English Patient*, Michael Ondrechik (5)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Shifting Grounds*, Wendy Red (2)
- 2 *Women Who Run With the Wolves*, Clarissa Pinkola Estel (2)
- 3 *The Great Redesign*, Jason Dale Dardouff and Lord Alan West (5)
- 4 *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century*, Paul Kennedy (1)
- 5 *Healing and the Mind*, Bill Moyers (6)
- 6 *The Marriage of Cadmus and Horace*, Robert Coates
- 7 *Nobody Nowhere*, Dennis William (7)
- 8 *A World Waiting to Be Born*, M. Scott Peck (7)
- 9 *The Dance of Deception*, Alton Lomer
- 10 *Systems of Survival*, Joel Kotkin (1)

1. *Induced Proposal*
2. *Benny & Joon*
3. *Julien's Dream*
4. *Splitting Home*
5. *The Dark Half*
6. *Cop and a Half*
7. *The Crying Game*
8. *The Starlet*
9. *Shakes*
10. *The Big L*

Compiled by Brian Bellmore

WORD FOR WORD

THE LONG AND THE SHORT OF IT

"I would like to congratulate you on your victory in the balloting for the leadership of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party. These are times of great challenge and opportunity for Alberta and all Canadians, and your strong campaign demonstrated that you have the energy and vision to lead your province. The interests of Alberta are an integral part of our efforts to ensure we with Canada's economic renewal, and I look forward to working with you on issues of mutual concern. As you prepare to assume your responsibilities as premier, I extend to you and your family my best wishes."

—Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's letter of congratulations to Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, a Conservative on Dec. 5 1992



Courtesy: Brian Mulroney

"I wish to congratulate you on your victory. As you prepare to assume the responsibilities of your second term, I extend to you and your family my best wishes."

—Mulroney's letter of congratulations to Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, a Liberal, and the year after to Alberta Premier Klein for the federal election of 1993 of the Western Conservative, after his electoral victory last week

ROCK ON

A Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien's speech writer, Warren Kressel, has a way with words. But some of his more buttoned-down colleagues find it surprising to learn where he once practiced his craft—with a College punk rock group. "I don't find it as odd as some people, but when they find out, they find it surprisingly funny," says Kressel, a lawyer. In high school and university, he played bass, sang and wrote lyrics for the now-defunct Hot Natas. (Kressel left after a year.) The group's single "The Assassination of the DeBilis" recently reissued in a limited edition, features such memorable turns of phrase as "John is a disgusting co-recipient, he shows imperialist urges." Kressel is a "not quite punk" new band, called Sex Off Panel. Still, the 32-year-old speech writer feels the pants of punk's writing popularity. "A few years ago, Kressel, his wife and two friends went to an Ottawa rockfest to see the Vibrators, an English punk band from the 1970s. "It was so bad," he says. "Just as bad or four or five old duds. But the guitar player and we were the best audience ever."



Warren Kressel

Anyone for tables?

In the back and forth debate over government spending, the Canadian Taxpayers Association has been caught in the crossfire. Nowhere across the country have the CTA's association with the leadership of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party been as great as in the example of government at work. Since then, Alberta Premier, the Ontario-based association's director general, has been defending his organization. Spiffy's rationale that it is wrong to suggest tax table manners is, well, a matter of money, not the rules of the game," he said. In addition to other "good sports," for example, the CTA's website, the association has had a few unfortunate, as well as more uniformly poor, tax table manners. In the world of women's in 2004, said Sharron, in a final rebuke: "I am sure a lot of people don't know what we do but our attitude is to just ignore these attacks."



Young member Jean Chrétien

PASSAGES

DIED: Cartoonist Duncan Macpherson, 66, of pancreatic cancer, at his home in Toronto. For more than 30 years, his relentless caricatures of public figures endeared the pages of *The Toronto Star* and several other publications, including *Maclean's*. He published more than a dozen award-winning collections, won six National Newspaper Awards, was named to the Canadian News Hall of Fame and was a member of the Order of Canada. One of his most famous cartoons was of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, who drew widespread criticism in 1959 when he canceled production of the Avro Arrow fighter plane. Macpherson depicted the Tory leader as a grotesque Mark Anthony crying, "Let 'em eat cake."



Retired Comedian of Canada, was found to be \$100,000 bad.

AWARDED: The Association of Canadian Authors' gold medal, the industry's highest honour, to the Manitoba humorist vice-president Lloyd Head. Head's book, *Manitobians: Man Gluttonous* (Grey Owl Press) and, from 1973 to 1982, *Maclean's*, for his "memorable service to magazines in Canada" and for the good of advertising.

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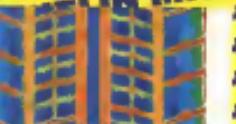
Toronto lawyer Terry Ley, 51, a writer on legal issues and a member of The Times' legal editorial board, will face six charges including rape, gross indecency, sexual assault and uttering a death threat over a period of time. The complainant's name was withheld. Ley, a former special counsel to the Law

Commission of Canada, was found to be \$100,000 bad.

AWARDED: The 1993 Stephen Leacock Medal for Humour, in Manitoba, to humour columnist John Lawrence, 36, for *Waiting for Agassiz*, a collection of his columns. The award includes \$1,500.

DIED: Influential American writer, critic and teacher Irving Howe, 72, after a stroke, in a New York City hospital. Howe's 1975 book, *World of Our Fathers*, which chronicled Jewish immigrant life in New York, was the U.S. National Book Award. He was editor of *Downbeat*, a 12,000-circulation left-wing political quarterly that he founded in 1963.

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ANOTHER VIEW



An argument for more argument

BY CHARLES GORDON

Debate souls that we are, we hate the sound of conflict, the sight of blood. Actually, that is not so. We love history. But we hate conflict in politics. From the moment House of Commons members began appearing on television, we were appalled, not so much disengaged. Why couldn't politicians cooperate instead of bickering all the time?

A case could be made that politicians got the message and began co-operating more. Now, a case could be made that they should act back to bickering as soon as possible.

The case is point. Steven Langdon and his status within the New Democratic Party (NDP), the federal party a finance critic, deserved that he could no longer stand for the economic policies of the New Democratic government of Ontario, led by Bob Rae. That caught him here all right, and it had been for a second decision Langdon made—to give

public his first point.

When he went public, holding a news conference two days after the presentation of a federal budget, he said that his party, with its policy of spending cuts and deficit reduction, was betraying party philosophy. Langdon's leader, André McLaughlin, slapped Langdon down, taking away his finance critic's role. Of course, she had every right to do so. Langdon's judgment, in taking the spotlight away from a steady and quite stimulative federal budget was questionable, and he could hardly continue as the party's finance critic if he favored one of the world's worst

gold with his first point. It is true that the party establishment, both in Toronto and Ottawa, could do with a few more positives. The same week that Langdon showed his rebellious streak, a Queen's Park New Democrat, Dennis Davis, cast his party colleague in it as an independent, using Ontario government support in support of causes and Standing a hearing, among others. Davisville, an Angus Reid panel, was also in a fine party tradition, an upholder of the social gospel, and he too went public.

Such public defiance accomodates some demanding poll figures for both the federal and Ontario New Democrats, but it does not cause them. The public, when it has the opportunity to express it, is not so much in favor of united fronts as in any ought have thought.

Another case in point, the Charlottetown accord. Like the Meech Lake accord before it, the agreement was supported by all the major political parties. Unlike Meech Lake, Charlottetown was supported by all the players.

Since both documents contained some potentially touchstone elements, it is logical to assume that many federal politicians within the established parties had strong reservations. But they suppressed them, kept quiet for the sake of some conception of national unity. They remained, inevitably, but the only public disagreement would jeopardize the accord's chances.

You can see how much good their silence did them. You can see how much good it did for everyone. The people perhaps thinking that something was being put over on them, probably suspicious of any deal that could harm the support of everybody and possibly wishing that someone would speak out the costs so that they could measure them against the price—the people rejected all the political options open to them. That unity was achieved in last year's referendum.

Many issues were thrown into that debate. It was widely alleged, as well as conceded by the Tories, that they didn't do a good job of "selling" the accord. The hard hat in this case was probably too much selling and not enough debating. Anyone who has studied the theory of democracy knows that a good idea gains strength when subjected to debate.

What brings us to the race to succeed Brian Mulroney as prime minister and Conservative party leader. There are some differences among the candidates, but probably few, if any, major as public expression of them is concerned.

There are various reasons for that, one being that the Tories want to avoid the kind of public embarrasment that has plagued the SNC and another being that they want to avoid embarrassing Brian Mulroney by disassociating themselves from his policies of the past eight years.

Still another reason is that they may agree with some policies. Some undoubtedly do, but it is difficult to believe that the only criticism they bring up from Tories is that it hasn't gone far enough in cutting the deficit. In a party with a strong Red Tory tradition, a party of Joe Clark and Robert Stanfield, it is inconceivable that no one of any consequence believes in trying something different. The successors to Clark and Stanfield are silent, while business attacks the Tories for not cutting the deficit more. You can laugh at the sweep of that, but it doesn't help us face the difficult days ahead.

What will help is some good old-fashioned arguing. Let's not be afraid of it. The Constitution, a crucial subject, did not get debated, at least by the major federal parties. An even more crucial subject, tax consistency, is not being debated either, at least by the Tories, who could use less co-operation and the presence of someone like Steven Langdon. We already know how many votes any's worth.

'A CUT ABOVE'

A CAMPAIGN TO REDUCE THE LARGE PENSIONS FOR MPS GETS LITTLE SUPPORT IN THE COMMONS

For almost a year, Alan Belney's lone struggle has met with little support and genuine fears from his colleagues in the House of Commons. It all began in June, 1992, when Belney, the 56-year-old Conservative MP for Des Vallières East in Quebec, proposed a series of amendments to the parliamentary pension plan. Belney suggested that benefits should be paid out only after qualifying members have 60, rather than as soon as they turn 55. He also urged his fellow MPs to on how "double dipping"—by which former legislators entitled to government benefits continue to draw their full pensions in addition to their new salaries. These measures, Belney said in an interview, "are the least we can do to demonstrate to our constituents that we do not consider ourselves a cut above everyone else."

So far, at least, the steps that Belney regards as a bare minimum have been too much for many of his colleagues to consider. But it may only be a matter of time before defenders of the parliamentary pension plan are forced to give ground to their critics. In Alberta last month, Premier Ralph Klein announced plans to abolish pensions for members of the provincial legislature who were elected for the first time after 1988. In so doing, Klein threw down the gauntlet to politicians elsewhere, saying that voters in other jurisdictions would ask why their representatives cannot do the same thing. Soon after,

Ontario Premier Bob Rae promised to review his province's program. And last week, Treasury Board President Gilles Bourque requested a year-old pledge to review the House of Commons pension plan, which the Canadian Institute of Actuaries estimates to be 25 times more generous than a typical provincial pension.

Against Belney, a handful of MPs have publicly and regularly called for reforms to the existing program. These include New Democratic Party Leader Andrea McLauchlin, Liberal MP David Bleyer, Reform party MP Deborah Grey and Tory backbencher and leadership candidate Patrick Brown. But most MPs, who qualify for the plan if they serve a minimum of six years in the Commons, evidently see little need for change. Currently, MPs contribute 39 per cent of their salaries to the plan, with a



JOE CLARK

Cabinet minister for 8½ years, former prime minister and opposition leader
Age 53
First elected 1972
Current annual pension entitlement:
\$78,000



CAROLE JACQUES

Conservative MP
Age: 32
First elected: 1984
Current annual pension entitlement:

\$24,000

matching contribution from the federal treasury. If they serve less than six years they are fully reimbursed for their personal contributions—and, if deferred in an election, receive a pension package equal to 90 per cent of their salary. Once they qualify, MPs are entitled to annual benefits equal to 30 per cent of their average salary over their best six years. The amount increases by five percentage points with each additional year of service, to a maximum of 35 per cent after 15 years. That means, for example, that Indian and Northern Affairs Minister Thérèse Solley, with 15 years' experience, would receive a pension of more than \$61,000 annually.

Double-dipping offers another way for retired politicians to supplement their income. Although most MPs claim to above the grace-line, it continues unabated. Among those who do: former NDP leader Ed Broadbent, who collects between \$109,000 and \$132,000 as president of the federally funded International Centre for Human Rights and



DICK JOHNSTON

Alberta Conservative MLA and former provincial treasurer
Age: 53
First elected: 1975
Current annual pension entitlement:

\$73,000

Democratic Development—and another \$45,000 in pension benefits. To do as well as a 15-year veteran of the Commons, a civil servant would have to contribute to a pension plan for 30 years. Even then, the individual would not be allowed to collect until age 60. That disparity "puts an elected politician out of touch with the concerns of average Canadians," says Robert Flecking, a Toronto-based public policy consultant and former chief administrator of the Ontario legislature.

Canadian politicians are in an enviable position compared to legislators in other countries. In Great Britain, for example, retired MPs receive a maximum of 80 per cent of their salaries, and collect until age 65. By contrast, a Canadian former sit with

15 years' experience as a backbencher would receive \$40,000 annually regardless of age.

But the pressure last week to review the Ontario legislature's pension plan was prompted in part by the revelation that former Liberal cabinet minister Léonard Miron, who is 42, will receive an indexed pension beginning at \$48,300 in early 2001 when he quits politics at the end of May. Under the province's rules, a politician's age and years of experience must add up to at least 55 in order to qualify for a pension. That means that a 54-year-old member, retiring after 15 years' service, would qualify at once for a pension. Despite the debate in Ontario, no immediate change to the law is likely. Otherwise, says Conservative leader Michael Harris, there are few supporters among the province's three political parties for increasing or even phasing out the pension plan.

THE SICKENING HOUR
Prime Minister Brian Mulroney began a three-day farewell tour of Europe with President Bush, Clinton and other Western officials. Mulroney's itinerary also included Germany, Britain and France. Although the Prime Minister had said that he would hold important meetings on such subjects as aid to Russia, opposition leaders have condemned the trip—and its estimated \$1-million price tag—as an extravagance.

ELECTORAL CHANGES
Bill C-114, the new federal legislation to reform the electoral process, received royal assent. Among the changes: lobby groups will face tough restrictions on advertising during campaigns and opinion poll results cannot be published during the last three days of a campaign.

THE RACE HEATS UP
Gordon Campbell, 45, the popular mayor of Vancouver, entered the race for the leadership of the B.C. Liberal party. Five other candidates are also running—among them former leader Gordon Wilson, 46, who led his party to official opposition status in the 1991 provincial election but whose image has recently been tarnished because of his relationship with former house leader Jack Tufts, 28. The leadership convention will be held Sept. 10-12.

SAPER SEX
According to a survey by the Canadian AIDS Society, gay and bisexual men across Canada are leading healthier—and happier—sex lives. Of the 4,000 gay men questioned, 77 per cent said that they were practicing safer sex, including more regular condom use. As well, more than 90 per cent expressed satisfaction with their sex lives. Said society chair Paul Royman: "Our prevention education programs are working."

elite extra pension benefits while still sitting in the legislature. A study conducted in January by the Association of Alberta Taxpayers concluded that the 10 largest ministers now sitting on the back benches receive combined 4 pension benefit totals of more than \$250,000 a year—or about \$55,000 each—in addition to their salaries. Under Klein's proposed legislation, benefits to those still qualifying for pension will change by as little as five per cent.

Because of that, some critics say that Klein's proposed changes are hapless and unfair. "If the law passes as expected, it will surely affect benefits for some ministers while eliminating them completely for others," said Rivington. "I do not believe that the average person thinks politicians should get lower benefits than themselves. They just do not want to get more."

Rivington and some other observers also suggest that politicians have given themselves artificially high pension plans in compensation for salaries that are lower than they should be. Said Flanagan: "There is such an outcry when politicians make their salaries that they tend to leave salaries alone and seek less-expensive ways of augmenting their pay package." Pierre-Étienne MacCausland, the president of the Canadian Institute of Accountants, agrees that MPs are "overcompensated but underpaid," said MacCausland. "The average MP makes about the same in the most qualified public school teacher in Toronto, but MPs have far more responsibility." Because of that, MacCausland said, the reductions are necessary.

salaries, reducing pensions and setting 80 as the maximum age for collective benefits.

In an election year, when many ministers will likely retire or be defeated, the pension

debate becomes particularly acrimonious. The National Citizens' Coalition, a right-of-centre lobby group, concluded last fall that 172 of the 225 MPs had the necessary six years' service to qualify for benefits. If all of them chose to start collecting pension benefits on maturity and lived to 75 years of age, they would receive a total of \$201 million. The potential benefits are particularly high for parliamentary stars who took office in an early age. Former Bloc Québécois MP Jean Lapierre, 37, got the Commons last year after 13 years service. He receives a pension of almost \$40,000 annually—even without indexing that would amount to more than \$1.5 million by the time he is 75.

At the same time, some critics argue that the size of the pension is the range for such benefits rather than as much as the total benefits themselves. The Star's McLaughlin—who considers that her state has been singular in her own caucus—has repeatedly urged the government to establish an entrepreneurial committee drawn from outside the House of Commons to set MPs' salaries and benefits. That approach, and Flanagan, "is the only appropriate response if elected members are to convince average Canadians that they are serious about reforming their own houses." But, judging by the reluctance of most elected officials to tackle the issue, taxpayers will have a long wait.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with
NANCY WOOD and CLIVE FLANAGAN of Ottawa
and JOHN BOYD in Edmonton

the minister's cancer, first diagnosed in 1980, resurfaced last December, the Liberals have been paralyzed with doubt about the future of the party without Bourassa's steady hand at the helm. The leadership has been in question, as well as the chances for success in the next provincial election, which must be held no later than the autumn of 1994. Last week's statement by Thériault has removed many of those doubts, at least over the short term. "It could not have happened at a better time for the government, the party and the population of Quebec," sighed a much relieved Quebec Public Security Minister Claude Ryan.

With a healthy Bourassa back in charge, the Liberals are now much better equipped to withstand what promises to be a contentious spring in the provincial legislature over sensitive economic and legislative issues. The first signs of the gathering storm came last week, when the government tabled legislation that would ease the

provincial restrictive language laws by ending the 15-year ban on the use of English on commercial signs and abolishing the Conseil de la langue française—the notorious language police. Predictably, the opposition Parti Québécois reacted with outrage, promising to make francophone opt-outs against changes that, as according to party leader Jacques Parizeau, will eventually lead to the "de-feminization" of Montreal.

Bourassa easily dismissed the opposition attack at the start of "language extinction," arguing that his government's action reflected the will of Quebec's "calm and serene majority." "The same actions could be used to describe Bourassa's current mood, as well as that of the political party he leads," boasted the apparent restoration of the premier's health. Quebec's Liberals are now confronting a political farce that suddenly appears much less nasty.

INIVITY CAME in Montreal



With surging election victory, 'the people of this province have spoken'

alleviated many voters, declared Albert Johnson, 55, a fisherman from Côteau, just north of Port Credit. "The teachers have got severe, high pay scales—but just what are they contributing about?"

Such bitterness is expressed across Newfoundland. The closed cod fishery and a cap on federal transfer payments have translated into a 15-per-cent provincial unemployment rate—compared with a national average of 11.4 per cent. The short-term future remains bleak: the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council predicts that the Newfoundland economy will grow by a mere 1.2 per cent this year, compared with about three per cent nationally. "The outlook is stagnant for years to come," says Wade Lockie, a real estate broker in St. John's. If anything, he says, the province's woes will only worsen as the cost of living rises to keep pace to cut the public sector payroll.

Willie's decisive victory may encourage other governments in Canada to increase their efforts to curb the public service payroll. In Ontario, Premier Bob Rae's NDP government is currently engaged in negotiations with public service unions to cut \$2.5 billion from the payroll. Failure to reach agreement on that no-strike deal could cost the government 10,000 jobs in the long run of up to 40,000 jobs in Alberta. They Premier Ralph Klein, also is expected to call an election in the near future, has asked the province's 30,000 teachers to accept wage freezes or rollbacks, while Manitoba is forcing its civil servants to take 10 days of unpaid leave a year. And federal Finance Minister Donald Macdonald's proposed plan in his April 26 budget to further trim Ottawa's civil service by 16,500 jobs over the next five years.

For their part, public sector union spokesmen in Newfoundland acknowledge that Willie's victory was a bitter blow. "The election has changed the ground rules," said Arthur Sparrow, a senior high-physical-education teacher and Newfoundland Teachers' Association representative to Corner Brook last week. "Willie appears to be free to his resolve to institute public sector wage cuts. The people of this province have spoken and we would hope that all 550,000 of us will acknowledge the will of the majority and that they will proceed to implement what is called for in the agreement he reached during his victory speech." Negotiations between the government and the unions—many of which are without contracts—may yet yield a compromise, but the premier could act unilaterally—first in the conviction that the majority of Newfoundlanders, and Canadians, will be hard hit.

JOHN BOYD is in Port Credit with
CLIVE FLANAGAN in Ottawa

BOURASSA'S TIMELY RETURN

There was an almost palpable note of relief in Robert Bourassa's voice as he stood, stepping on an orange, outside the Liberal Party's caucus room in Sherbrooke City last week. "I was very, very happy," he said. The source for that reaction: a statement by his physician, Dr. Steven Rosenberg, that the Quebec premier had "an excellent response" to the experimental therapy he is receiving to combat his skin cancer, and that Bourassa "is now in excellent health and no further treatment is required at this time." Not only had the treatments diminished the immediate threat to the Quebec premier's health, he had also made it possible for Bourassa to postpone a decision on his political future. "The situation has returned to normal," Bourassa resolved, cheerfully admitting that he no longer found it "urgent" to deal with his prospects for either retirement or re-election. "For the time being, it's back to business as usual."

Bourassa's aides and associates in the Quebec Liberal Party have been waiting for months to hear that message. Ever since



When less is more

Clyde Wells shows how to win with restraint

No one needs to tell David Sparkes how tough times are in Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1990, he borrowed \$300,000 and began adding 10 new rooms to the Sea port Inn, the hotel he and his brother own in Port aux Basques, a fishing community 300 km northwest of St. John's. Construction was completed by October, 1991, but the tourist was terrible the following January. Ottawa imposed strict new quotas on northern cod, then closed the fishery altogether in July 1992, for at least two years. Since then Sparkes has waged a constant battle to stay in business as the北海的 fisherman. His company personnel and government officials who once filled his hotel have disappeared. "I know what Clyde Wells means when he says that the cupboard is bare," explained Sparkes, 55, who voted for Wells's governing Liberals at last week's provincial election. In fact, the premier's fiscal measures of restraint and fiscal prudence dictated the grim mood of Newfoundlanders—and saved the province from a dramatic new low in Canadian policy.

It was a dramatic victory, for though the Newfoundlanders' commanding lawyer, Dennis Wells, had suggested to pick up two additional seats, one of them to reflect a 4 per cent increase in the St. John's population, the Liberals won a total of 26, compared with 16 for the Conservatives and six for the New Democrats. The majority of the Liberal mandate will be held by politicians shadow and public sector unions—which had launched an aggressive attack on

Wells and his party—devastated. Instead of broken promises, Wells repeatedly warned voters to expect more of the cutbacks and reduced services that characterized his first four years in office. Some observers say that the premier's message tapped into a radical shift in popular sentiment. "The parties that used to be won the ones that promised the most," declared Conard Wynn, president of Ottawa's public finance forum. "That is gone now—and it is a trend that national political leaders should pay attention to."

Wynn notes that Wells's hardline message split his province's public sector since it gave a greater conviction across the country that government costs must be shaved to curb ever-increasing federal and provincial debts. That impression was underpinned by a recent CMTM poll of Labrador that indicated that the majority of people think government debt is a major problem, and that they overwhelmingly favor public sector wage and program cuts as a means of controlling spending. In Newfoundland, Wells' played to a widespread sense of despair about the province's resource future. His Liberal party came after the premier's teachers voted to strike if Wells followed through with a plan to cut government contributions to their pension fund. During the campaign, he went further, promising to cut \$30 million from the public payroll the year after instead of waiting until their efforts to defeat the government, the teachers

JOHN BOYD is in Port Credit with
CLIVE FLANAGAN in Ottawa

The Real Kim Campbell

BY E. KAYE FULTON AND MARY JANIGAN

Kim Campbell knew how to become a celebrity long before she learned how to be an effective politician. When she joined the race to succeed British Columbia Premier William Bennett in 1989, she was a policy adviser in his office. While her 11 opponents reveled in traditional campaign hoopla, serving free food and beer, Campbell gave it all away in a lousy with a string quartet. Her appearance started the trend with bands and bouncers. Campbell entered behind a lone piano to deliver a stirring assault upon the race's clear leader, William Vander Zalm. When she came last on the first ballot, with just 21 votes out of 1,284 cast, she threw her support behind Vander Zalm's chief opponent. According to conventional political wisdom, she did everything wrong. But the delegates and the media remembered the determined woman who had audaciously reached beyond her station. As Victoria Times-Colonist political columnist Jim House noted at the time: "She was the star of the show."

That brash self-assurance captures the pattern of a lifetime. Kim Campbell has always dared to take risks and to reach for new challenges. She does not content her, her own interests and her own agenda often take precedence over the traditions of her group. Her political career path began at the Vancouver school board in 1980 and culminated just the provincial legislature in Victoria to Parliament Hill in 1988. Each step along the way was shrewdly calculated to bring increased power and public recognition. But Campbell has rarely lingered long enough at any level to sample the reward of accomplishment that her bold style seems to promise. Even at her strongest, in the federal justice portfolio, she was better known for her imperfections than for the substance of her achievements. Now, after little more than four years as cabinet minister, she is reaching past more experienced politicians for the ultimate Canadian electoral prize: the job of Prime Minister. Even before she announced her candidacy she was the favorite, and she still holds an impressive lead. Last week, *Southern News* estimated that Campbell has the support of 45 per cent of the delegates chosen to attend the June 9-12 convention.

The 45-year-old Campbell brings formidable assets to her quest. Tough-minded and articulate, she has mollified critics over such policies as the \$4-billion purchase of anti-sheriffing helicopters. Stylish and svelte, she controls that will "change the way we do politics" in this country. "She can master issues with ease and then she can charm an audience with self-deprecating humor and biting wit. She has demonstrated a lifelong dedication to learning," says political

Intelligent, brash, calculating and often lonely, she has always been driven to succeed



analyst Gerry Kristiansen, the president of Pacific Public Affairs Ltd. in Victoria. "She is one of the few people in politics that I know who actually grows in the job and changes."

But there is another, less favorable side to Campbell's nature. She is loath to change her mind once she takes a position. If the opinions are absurd or ridiculous, she often refuses to admit her mistake. At times, she seems to regard her critics as much as she does her constituents. As former B.C. premier William Vander Zalm told *Maclean's*: "There used to be a joke: 'If Kim's not in, it probably won't say good.' But she doesn't like to take credit—and to take credit—appears to be a pivotal force in Campbell's life. She presents herself as a gifted and determined woman who has excelled at almost everything she has attempted. But as a somewhat *Maclean's* exploration of Campbell's life reveals, she has exhibited that sense of success by shrewdly co-opting others and editing facts. Campbell, her immediate family and her two former husbands refuse to discuss personal traumas such as her divorce. In an annual stir, she has compiled lists of friends, from childhood to the present, who willingly recall harmless anecdotes about her life to reporters. And when she recounts her achievements, she often takes sole credit for each one, than she actually accomplished. Although she has also dispelled unfounded accounts of her experiences, she has not corrected frequent erroneous reports that she has postgraduate degrees in political science. She has also been credited with postgraduate degrees in German, Russian, French and, most recently, Yiddish—but only her French is at the functional level!

In 1983, when she was the 35-year-old Vancouver school board chairwoman, Campbell told a reporter for *The Vancouver Sun* that her abundant natural talents—"by virtue of my genes"—made it difficult to decide what to do with her life. In the same interview, she described her adolescence as "very unhappy." Few of Campbell's childhood friends disagreed with the first statement. But most were perplexed by the second. They remembered her as a cheerful, outgoing companion. Few even imagined her matron when she suddenly announced, at the age of 12, that she was no longer wished to be known as April Marshall, the names that her mother chose for her. Then, then so, she wrote to be called Kim. Says Vancouver accountant April Marshall, Campbell's best friend in public school: "I was sure that her parents broke up and that her mom left. Kim didn't make it a big thing. However she felt about it, she internalized it." Perhaps Campbell concealed her feelings because divorce seemed so unusual in her middle-class Vancouver suburb of Kerrisdale. It was 1959 when her parents' marriage ended. One of the most popular television shows was *Family Circus*, but, with its sweethearts sweet, part of family harmony. Obviously, at least, Campbell's friends had well-adjusted

George Campbell and six-year-old April Phaedra



with sister Alix (right)

at home, 1983



Prince of Wales high school, Grade 10



1982 Vancouver school board meeting



Grade 8 Saint Ann's Academy

in public school



law school graduation

1983

1970

1965

COVER

lives in an endlessly world. Her own quarreling parents, George and Lissa, attempted to mandate their daughter, April, 18, and Alis, 14, from the pressures of their marriage by sending them to boarding school at Victoria while they tried to work out their differences. Before the school year ended, Lissa had fled, first to England, and then to the Meditteranean and the Caribbean to crew sailboats with the men she also would leave: William, Yves.

The Campbell marriage, like many of that period, was founded on warring romance. A soldier with the Scottish Highlanders, George Campbell met Lissa Cook in 1945 while he was stationed in Port Alberni on Vancouver Island. She had been working as an operator at local stations in Bellingham and Ottawa. He was posted to Tracy, MS. Their relationship survived through letters and visits, until the parents, suddenly before George, Campbell, went missing in action in September 1946. Wounded on the Italian front four months later, he returned to British Columbia in May, 1945, to be greeted by his wife and his two newborn daughters, Alis. The couple had lonely dreams. "They planned to live in Lissa's absence from scribbled notes while George muddled in a general arts program at Victoria College. (On March 18, 1962, in Port Alberni, April Phaedra arrived, bearing the lyrical names that her mother had inscribed in the hope that her daughter would become an author.)

Six months later, the young family moved to Vancouver, where Campbell completed his arts degree at the University of British Columbia. His marks were too low for his first ambition, medicine, but he was accepted into the law faculty. The Campbells settled into an awkwardly traditional pattern. After several moves, the upwardly mobile family moved in 1954 into a rambling white stucco and broken-trimmed house on a corner lot in Kerrisdale. George Campbell was called to the bar in 1955, set up a general law practice. Alis took up basketball, while April studied the piano and Highland dancing. Their father captured their achievement in an eight-inch-square file. As George Campbell told Marshall: "It was brought up to be worn and not hoisted. We were going to be more enlightened."

But the marriage was dissolving. Although the Campbells were Anglicans they sent three girls to St. Ann's Academy, a Catholic boarding school. April Marshall recalls that her friend would not talk about the reasons of leaving home. "I remember asking her, 'Are you scared?' No, she wanted to go. She viewed it as a vacation adventure," says Marshall. "She wanted to find out what it would be like at a girls' school, to wear a uniform."

At St. Ann's, the Campbell sisters lived in a residence, with 50 other boarders who dressed alike in crisp white blouses and blue tunics. In the midst of the imposed uniformity, Campbell topped her class of 30 Grade 8

bother to retrieve it when she and White part ed in Grade 11. As for her change of name, Campbell told Marshall: "It took back, it is in the classic tradition of adolescent transformation, I think, to change these things that you are."

She tackled the aspects of her life that she could control with boundless energy. She was president of the student council and valuator for her class of 1964. She organized slacks for high school assemblies and wrote lyrics to music that she composed on the piano and the guitar. Her poems were published in the school's annual literary supplement. She found boyfriend White, now a production manager at Pacific Crest in Vancouver. "She has always been a very strong person. She just kind of ground her teeth and went on with it."

At home, there was a new face at the table. Although George Campbell declines to discuss his "marital difficulties," friends recall that he was briefly married to a woman named Gump, barely older than Alis. "They were like three years when Gump came in the scene," says a family friend. "1961, there was friction, probably Campbell believed that it was Gump's job to discipline the children. Added the friend: "If you are George, with two young daughters who are coming in late at night, who do you get your young wife to control them?" Gump has now vanished from the Campbell biographies. The family does not discuss her.

Despite Campbell's veneer of self-confidence, she did not know what she wanted to do with her life. Under the category of "future" in her high school yearbook, she listed "medicine or political science at UBC, then travel." Her ambivalence continued for the next five years while she earned an honors degree in political science. That training provided the framework for her emerging consciousness. The late campus, like many universities in the late 1960s, was a hotbed of protest. There were rallies against the Vietnam War and calls for free love. As president of the student government, Campbell positioned herself as a moderate and a traditionalist. She found comfort in the writings of Edmund Burke, the 18th-century British political philosopher who favored tradition, social stability and responsible leadership by the aristocracy. Her puritanical strictures were radical in language. "She looked like a strait-laced winger, well dressed, with fully bound hair," fellow student council member Sam Penley, now a political consultant, recalls. "I thought, 'Oh God, here's the student engine.'

But the strongest influence on Campbell had been Marshall. She had been her best friend, Nathan Davy, a burly-voiced UBC mathematics professor. According to friends, the two began to date in 1967, the year that Davy divorced his first wife. Elizabeth Campbell was 30. Davy, known to his friends as "Trixie," was the Davywood father of three daughters. The relationship turned

'She just kind of gritted her teeth and went on with it'

student. Her teacher, Sister Eulene Gallagher, remembers she visited her with the cropped blonde hair in her first student in 20 years—the only one who correctly answered all questions on an IQ test. "I never saw any one who shocked us so much," Gallagher told Marshall. "We couldn't evaluate her at all because she made a perfect score. It worked out to be 123 but that was inaccurate because we couldn't find the ceiling."

A according to the man, her prior student never mentioned her parents' marital difficulties—even when her mother left home, midway through the school year. In profile, Campbell remained the smiling May Queen who staged impromptu canons in front of her classmates. In private, the strikingly beautiful Campbell had over the television in the hall with her sisters, ignoring their father, now alone in Vancouver, to let them come home. "I much like stay in school to finish their year," says George Campbell. "I thought it was kind of cute that they wanted to look after their dad."

When the sisters returned to Vancouver at the end of June, their mother had all but vanished from their lives. Ten years would pass before Kim Campbell saw her again. Campbell would later credit her mother as her earliest lesson in resilience. But as a teenager, the strong of apparent rejection can be devastating. George Campbell: "You had a tender heart, her more radical in language." She looked like a strait-laced winger, well dressed, with fully bound hair," fellow student council member Sam Penley, now a political consultant, recalls. "I thought, 'Oh God, here's the student engine.'

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David Campbell in a colorful life of intellectual chutzpah and ebullient eccentricity. Don't say a chess and bridge expert from Winnipeg's math and chess, boasts that he once played Soviet chess master Boris Spassky in a draw—and that Cuban President Fidel Castro presented him with a chess set. An older pastime he defended Britain's right class system and financed his right-wing newspaper.

Donald Zeleny's chapter upon her was more profligate than Campbell's today. Schizophrenic Campbell's oddball insights have often stated that she did not graduate with the summa of 1960 from the University of Oregon in Eugene. In fact, she took and failed one more course, a four-credit political science course on revolution—which could be applied towards a postgraduate degree. Campbell was at Oregon because Donnelly was there. The avuncular professor had taught numerous notable students at the University of Oregon since 1960. In 1966, he taught two postgraduate courses, on mathematical analysis and algebraic systems. The two shared a furnished apartment in a small complex with a swimming pool. They partied with Donnelly's faculty colleagues, taking the male and female leads in impromptu performances of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Recall their friend Betty Niven, who is married to former University of Oregon mathematics professor Isaac Niven: "I noticed during those times with Diane that she was very self-confident and had a lot of presence. After all, they were not married yet. That's because now nobody was looking down their nose, but these were not a lot of people in that situation."

In the fall of 1966, the two returned to UBC where Campbell began work on her master's degree in the Institute of International Relations. She was an excellent student. Veteran UBC associate professor Jim Solecki taught her Soviet economics and elementary Russian. "Once in a while you would get a student with a comparable mind," he recalls. "Not only do those students understand what you teach them, they always relate to it and see the underlying patterns come out correct." But Campbell never completed her master's degree. In 1968 she applied for a Canada Council doctoral fellowship. (Concurrently, Donnelly was an evaluator on the Canada Council selection committee for 1969-1970.) Campbell won. In October, 1970 she abandoned UBC and moved to England with a four-year doctoral fellowship, worth between \$3,500 and \$5,000 per year, for studies in Soviet government at the London School of Economics.

Campbell's studies at UBC reinforced her conservative views. Her doctoral supervisor was historian Leonard Schapiro, a brilliant sociologist who despised his students on a

In London, she acquired a loathing for leftist ideology



Campbell in 1968 a graduate, quiet and warming

three-month tour of the Soviet Union. Campbell emerged from his influence with a loathing for leftist dogma—and a profound respect for the law. But, once again, she abandoned her studies. Donnelly had moved to London in 1972 as a visiting professor at Queen Mary College at the University of London. The couple married that September. When his sabbatical ended in August, 1973, Campbell returned home.

She found herself languishing at the bottom range of the academic hierarchy—a place that would become increasingly familiar

More recently, Campbell has disparaged universities as "the last bastion of great scores in this country." But her lack of a postgraduate degree certainly hampered her prospects. According to Campbell, university officials did not respond to her application for a teaching position in Soviet studies. Instead, in January, 1975, after an agonizing hiatus as wife and stepmother, she joined the lower ranks of UBC's seasonal lecturers. In 1975-1976 she taught two courses: Contemporary Ideology 200 and International Politics 204.

Campbell maintains that she was an excellent teacher. "The experience she recalls, was like swimming flowers," tells, she was not offered a tenured position. "It didn't matter how good I was," Campbell says. "People would say to me if I finished my PhD, I would get a permanent job. I would point out that the last five people they hired were hired without a PhD." Despite that claim, universities rarely appoint seasonal lecturers who lack postgraduate degrees to tenured positions.

Campbell's career was stalled. But instead of roaming postgraduate work to improve her chances for advancement, she did something that has since become familiar: she checked into another position. In 1978, she found a job at the Langara Campus of Vancouver Community College, teaching politics and history. Although some faculty members grumbled that she lacked paper credentials, she replaced a full-time teacher who was an alcoholic. When that faculty member returned in 1979, the 30-year-old Campbell was relegated to part-time status, teaching three night courses. Recalls Campbell: "I said to myself, I don't want to be 40 years old, wondering whether I am going to have a full teaching load. The writing was on the wall."

It was a message that prompted her to change the direction of her life. Although she did not aspire to a career in law, "I knew if there was a lot that you could do with a law degree, I had the kick of my mind the idea of going into politics some day." During her three years at Langara school, she was known for asking incisive questions—and she earned good marks. But she did not satisfy her craving for achievement and recognition. In 1980, after only two months in law school, Campbell was a position as trustee on the Vancouver school board. In theory, it was a low-level part-time role. But most trustees on the one-member Vancouver board played politics as though it were guerrilla warfare. It was a natural fit for the headstrong Campbell. She preached fiscal restraint and demanded more programs for gifted students.

She was now carrying an excess workload. She was a full-time law student, and, until Christmas, 1981, she commuted to teach at



With Vander Zanden during
Sacred convention 'the star of the show'

Social Credit party officials asked the high-profile Campbell to run in Vancouver Centre riding in the April, 1982, provincial election. To Campbell's amazement, she accepted. "She said if I'm not good, I'm not good," recalls Campbell. Campbell did fine, but her political ambitions stalled. After graduating and completing her articles in 1984, she bought a \$120,000 three-story house over-looking False Creek in downtown Vancouver. But her heart was not in law. Asked by B.C. Premier Bennett to work in his office in September, 1982, she left on the clause.

When Bennett resigned in May, 1986, Campbell launched her grassroots quest to replace him. She ran against her own boss, Bennett's principal secretary, Don Smith. And she demolished the future premier. Vander Zanden, with the slogan "Chairman without substance is a dangerous thing," Vander Zanden handily defeated Campbell, defeated his chosen candidate for the Social Credit confirmation in the riding of Vancouver Point Grey. In October, 1986, she won her seat in the legislature, already an outcast in the winter's caucus.

There was, however, a new member of staff in her personal life. Campbell had met Howard Eddy, a lawyer for the B.C. attorney general's ministry, when she worked in Bennett's office. Eddy was a quiet, reserved former UBC law professor. They married in August, 1988, commuting between her Vancouver home and a modest former provincial work boat, called the Western Yacht, which they renamed a manana—a name for Victoria.

The next two years were politically turbulent. Campbell became aligned with an influential group of dissidents who opposed

Vander Zanden's desire to re-print his Fundamentalist Christian principles on government policies. When the Premier announced that he was substantially suspending public funding for abortion, she denounced him. That clash was enough to ensure that the ambitious MIA would never get her coveted caucous seat.

But as Campbell's career stagnated in Victoria, new opportunities beckoned in Ottawa. Campbell's lawyer husband, Gary, is the son of Tory lawyer Brian Campbell, the nephew of Senator Norman Adams, a party's senior strategist. In 1982, Campbell asked David Camp to interview her for a seat. Camp arranged dinner. Although Campbell gave up best of her federal ambitions, she followed Adams' advice, public life

THE TORY RACE

As the process of selecting delegates for the June 9-10 Conservative leadership convention wound to a close, Kim Campbell appeared to be enjoying a wide lead over her nearest rival, Jean Chretien. But more than a quarter of the delegates surveyed by The Canadian Press claimed to be undecided. In their words:

* It may become necessary to introduce a two-tiered health care system to ensure splitting costs. Chretien said he supported that plan, though it might have to pay for some services now covered by medicare. Trotter, Campbell said she would be willing to consider medicare over time.

* Liberal Leader Jean Chretien said that both Campbell and Clouston are drinking it. Do you think they can resolve the deficit in four or five years?

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"I don't really think that he has any handicap other than being a Quebecer."



Kim and daughter Adrienne, a four-faced machine before her own come

I have made some very strong initiatives'

and reorganization. Adkin was un-pressed enough to keep in touch. In 1980, Adkin asked her to challenge then Liberal Leader John Turner in his riding of Vancouver Quadra. Adkin announced that Campbell was a strong local candidate who would distract Turner from his national campaign. Campbell was flattered but she was not proud to resign her position sent to her in a letter that she could not sign.

Another opportunity soon arose. On Sept. 26, 1984, Vancouver Centre MP Patricia Carey announced her retirement. Five days later, Mahoney called an election for Nov. 21. Carey's campaign chairman, lawyer Lynn Scott, says that the high-profile Campbell was an obvious replacement but that she was initially reluctant to enter the race. "It wasn't a long way from home—the boys in the air and three train cars," he remembers. "And she had a nice lifestyle." That hesitation dissolved when Campbell watched Turner denounce the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The party's strongest F.T.C. defender, former international trade minister Carney, was retiring. Says Scott, "It was the opportunity to lead the charge on free trade."

And how Campbell charged. She resigned her legislature seat, secured the uncontested nomination and plunged into the race. Her spirited defense of the free-trade pact caught the attention of Mahoney. Throughout the 1988 campaign, the Prime Minister monitored the fortunes of about 50 younger candidates, including Campbell. When Campbell defeated her NDP opponent, Jahanza Bibi Herzig, by 283 votes, Mahoney was delighted. Explains a senior Tory: "He really liked the way Campbell ran a very tight race."

The new MP and her husband moved to Ottawa. Although they retained their Vancouver home, they also took over the lease on Carney's apartment in downtown Ottawa. Carney bequeathed furniture, bedding, towels, dishes and a vacuum cleaner. Campbell brought only her computer, her favorite books, travel caravans and an extensive print of Vancouver harbor. While Campbell enjoyed Parliament Hill, Edith had work as a legal adviser to the Investigation and Litigation Board.

Within Ottawa's Ottawa-Hastings, Campbell was quickly ranked as a potential star



The new justice minister in 1988
B. with father of campaign colleague
in Vancouver, formidable assets



Mahoney named her to the junior roles of his cabinet, as minister of state for Indian affairs and northern development. But he also deliberately positioned her to learn how Ottawa operated. Campbell was on no cabinet committee, which gave her the special consciousness of counsel, which approved all legislation and regulations, the bills and bills of government. More important, she worked with two of Ottawa's most skilled civil servants, deputy minister Harry Sweeny and associate deputy minister Fred Deacon.

As always, Campbell grasped at the chance to learn. Every Monday morning, she visited Sweeny's office for housing briefings on the federal government's role as the British Columbia minister. A fan of the British television series *Yes, Minister*, she nicknamed both men "Sir Humphrey"—an affectionate tribute to the show's cantankerous civil servant. "Between the two of us," Deacon recalls, "we gave her access to much experience—a short, how to fed her way around. She came to the department as a highly accomplished political scientist and I guess we were providing the graduate school. She very quickly understood what the issues were."

The Prince Minister obviously agreed. In February, 1990, he chose Campbell to be Canada's first female attorney general and justice minister.

For the opposition, Campbell, the job was not easy. To get her legislation through Parliament, she had to learn to compromise and to treat her colleagues' views with respect. Her most painful learning experience was the 13-month debate over her proposal to strengthen Canada's gun control legislation. Many urban areas wanted stronger measures, many rural areas wanted looser gun control as a regional safeguard. The minister adjusted and readjusted her legislation until it finally passed in November, 1991. Calgary MP Barbara (Bobbi) Sparrow, who led an internal party revolt against the original bill, is now a strong Campbell supporter. "But this is because more apes, but that is through experience," Sparrow says.

But Campbell had a high personal price for these lessons. She worked long and early and late evenings, almost every day of the week. Her husband, meanwhile, was a middle-level legislator that achieved a distinction against his colleagues—but which also cut him from some social contact. In March, 1991, Edith died. She was 62. Campbell fled to her minister's house in Victoria where she and Edith, a provincial government lawyer, spent the week following the 1990 rock-and-roll records.

Then, with her lifelong pattern of discipline, Campbell would work hard. On her first day, she chose her colleagues such as External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, especially sharing her depression. But on other days she only the ever-busy minister who cracked jokes, raised her colleagues' and mind, built up the parliamentary status. Campbell says that she read reports of her political enemies during that period with

a neutral gaze. "It seemed ironic to me," she recalls. "Because of the breakup of my marriage and the loneliness, I was wondering if I wanted to continue doing this at all."

Campbell survived and eventually thrived. She transformed her Vancouver home into a showcase of antiques and Canadian art. The front parlor is a spring collection of white chandeliers, purple violets and ceramics. Every Christmas Eve, George and his third wife Margaret, and their son and family living across the street, joined in a joint birthday dinner for the couple. "It's been a tradition since 1988," says an equanimous Campbell. Vancouver's reclusive Campbell's refuge is her third-floor den, which overlooks her garden. The legend is that Deacon gave her the bar 20th birthday day. "When she wants to sit and have wine and comfort and relaxation," says her friend Diane Farns, a Vancouver art gallery owner, "she looks out over the city and there and plays her harp."

In Ottawa, Campbell掌管了她的 portfolio. Between February, 1990, and January, 1993, she steered 26 bills through Parliament. Most of those laws were progressive compromises. Although she has always supported a woman's unconditional right to abortion, she capitulated in the anti-abortion forces when she took over the Justice portfolio. She abandoned—and presented—legislation that required abortion in the Criminal Code with the stipulation that doctors could only perform the procedure when the woman's health was in danger. (The Senate deleted that bill in January, 1992.) She introduced laws to increase penalties for young offenders, reduce the appeal process for entrants and curtailed the presentation of a judge as victim's sexual history. Her first major legislative achievement was typical of her approach: She introduced legislation that prohibited discrimination against homosexuals—but which also cut her own same-sex marriage. (That bill is unlikely to pass before the next election.) "I don't think you can take any stance," Campbell insists. "I think I have made some very strong statements." In fact, some critics argue that Campbell's legislative record was driven more by the need to respond to court decisions than by personal conviction.

It was in Justice that Campbell first explored the only theme of her leadership career: ambition. At the London School of Economics, she had absorbed an abiding respect for the principles of law and the rights of the individual. But in Ottawa, she argued that the law was not a neutral system; it was by

and in favor of white men. "There is no question that sexism, racism and other forms of discrimination are clearly systemic problems in the justice system," she told a Vancouver symposium on women and the law in 1991.

As the minister's public stature grew, her behind-the-scenes political role also expanded, with mixed results. The move to the Justice portfolio brought increased responsibility as part of cabinet meetings. Campbell diligently attended most meetings, armed with prepared questions and three rows of notes. Subjects

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As a member of cabinet, Campbell was bound to accept the decision. But even if she were, the June, 1992, meeting, she continued to promote herself publicly as an avowed *John Major*硬汉, who was fighting to deliver the federal goods in her region. An ostentatious senior departmental colleague complained to MacLean's that Campbell works for herself, not for the government. "That experience held me that she was a pragmatic opportunist."

Nevertheless, Campbell impressed the only power broker who really mattered, Mulroney. Last January, he selected her as Canada's first female defense minister. That cabinet slot and a clear signal that

Mulroney recognized her talents—wants her to join the ranks of political successors. Seven weeks later, the Prince Minister announced his resignation.



Campbell with leadership
from Prime Minister Mulroney, Garth Turner,
from Chretien and James Edwards

that was not within her portfolio. One of her allies, former communications minister Max Mowbray, says she "wholeheartedly defended his cultural programs against anti-culture colleagues." It was obvious that she had read her brief on the role and she knew what we were talking about," says the Queen's University historian. "We had great discussions after class. She was a good teacher." Campbell's first role is relatively free from research in the cultural sector to rock publications." But Campbell's will to suggest to take over with her fellow ministers around a government Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark, for one, concluded quickly during his minister's constitutional negotiations that Campbell was interfering with cabinet advice on the talks.

Campbell also strayed into legislation among Conservatives a bit late in political office for British Columbians. As the chief overseer of her province's interests and her party's future, she promoted the contestable science-fiction project of Canadian history. The proposed *Kinross* geophysics laboratory at the University of British Columbia for the advanced study of subatomic particles. At Campbell's urging

T he founder of the European Community, French socialist Jean-Maurice Monnet, often quoted an adage, "There are two kinds of people in this world: those who make things happen and those who wait to see what happens if they do." In the little evidence that Campbell has given that she would prefer if she became Prime Minister. She has little economic training or experience. She has often short how she would include the public in the decision-making process but she has avoided little concrete policies or work with independent groups. Her record as the Justice portfolio goes down in a similar fashion. She claims that she can forge agreement on substantive action, but her substantive flair for self-promotion, her desire to be immediately acknowledged precedence over the interests of her team and the need to do something. Campbell says that she has the makings of a prima donna. She just wants to continue Canadian's desire to emphasize breadth of scope. The Queen's former must prove that there is something that she brings to do.



THE COST OF CARE

After dark, the rooftop helipad near the Methodist Medical Center in Dallas, Texas, offers a spectacular view of the city's glittering skyline. But the small group of people waiting on the pad shortly after 11 o'clock one evening last week were focused on a single blinding light rapidly approaching from the east. An air ambulance was chopping its way urgently through the night sky with a Hispanic name on board, bleeding from a gashed wound to the chest. Minutes after the helicopter touched down, paramedics wheeled inos Salinas, 34, into an emergency room where a doctor in a special vest worked to control the damage done by a .32-caliber bullet. By nightfall, Salinas's condition was stable enough for him to be transferred to intensive care. And as visitors returned to the emergency room a nurse began to tally a bill that had already topped \$12,700.

Any one patient's care accounts for just a

BILL CLINTON'S HEALTH REFORM PLANS CARRY A HEFTY PRICE TAG

Fraction of the roughly \$1.15 trillion that Americans will spend on health care this year. But with the cost of treating emergency from gunshot wounds to intense new racing at almost five times the rate of inflation in the United States, health care has become one of the hottest issues confronting President Bill Clinton. The high costs are compounded by a profitable health insurance industry that in recent

years has offered clients less protection from catastrophic medical bills. And about 34 million Americans, or 24 per cent of the population, lack health insurance. As a presidential candidate, Clinton promised to introduce national health reform, and most Americans say they concern recent surveys indicate that Clinton has the backing of 80 per cent of the population for a policy that would guarantee universal access to medical care.

But Clinton's hopes for producing a

Debtors operating on accident victim in California. Best in the world?

Ruthann Clinton—for a second time, probably until mid-June.

Most observers predict that Clinton will endorse a concept that the health-care community knows as "managed competition." In essence, the notion is to increase consumers' choices by creating alliances of individuals and small businesses that would terminate collectively with measures for the lowest-cost coverage. Washington would also require insurers to provide basic coverage to everyone, regardless of any existing health problems, and the government would take one of people unable to afford insurance on their own. The estimated price tag from \$40 billion to \$100 billion a year, depending on the generosity of benefits.

Most offices conclude that the Clinton plan would ease the burden on Americans who now lack medical insurance. But whether managed competition will contain the cost explosion that lies at the centre of the crisis in American health care is far from certain.

For one thing, few American supporters will be loathe to laud the health care industry for medical advances that underpin the frequently expressed boast that U.S. health care

remains the best in the world. Examples of that superiority are not hard to find. Last week, as Salinas recovered from his wound at the non-profit Methodist Medical Center, surgeons a few miles to the north at the profit-making Medical City Dallas hospital were performing a state-of-the-art operation to remove a tumor near the brain of a nine-year-old girl. Surgeon Jim Mauro described the procedure: "We split the face in two pieces, the face out of the way, go into the middle of the base of the skull, take the tumor out, and put the face back together. And there's no mark on the outside." Added Mauro, "It's something that was physically impossible five years ago. The child would have died." But such advances are far from cheap: the 14-hour operation cost as much as \$100,000.

Other influences driving up the cost of medical care for Americans have lower evident benefits. Over the past eight years, a flood of lawmakers has increased the annual cost of marketplace insurance for many physical exams to more than \$25,000 from about \$1,800. In an attempt to level out marketplace insurance, nevertheless, doctors have greatly increased the number of diagnostic procedures they order—to the point that one study estimated that more than half of current health costs are "medically unnecessary." At the same time, sloppy accounting and wasteful fraud continue to inflate 9 per cent of hospital bills by an average of \$1,800, according to a study by the U.S. government's General Accounting Office.

Still more remarkable is the epidemic of violence that daily delivers thousands of Canadians from the States to hospitals across the United States. Although no study has calculated the total cost of repairing all the battle-scarred bodies and maimed psyches, Dr. George Lundberg, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, estimates the price tag at "many billions of dollars a year, maybe \$20 billion, in health-care costs."

At Methodist Medical Center, Dallas cardiologist physician Dr. Robert Stansfeld confronts these costs daily. Crucial, perhaps, what he euphemistically calls "the knife and gun clubs endemic to the area," are responsible for as many as a dozen penetrating trauma (stabbing and shooting) emergencies a day. Moreover, Stansfeld adds firmly, "our penetrating trauma population is largely uninsured."

The administration's proposed reforms may seem like paradise more of that population with insurance. But managed competition will alter neither Americans' purchase towards doctors nor their inclination with medical technology. And that, Stansfeld has gleefully concluded, means that it is likely to fail the most crucial clinical test of all: bringing the spending cost of health care back down to a level that Americans can afford.

CHRIS WOOD is Dallas with
MARY ANN MACKENZIE in Washington

World Notes

A SETBACK FOR PEACE

Dalton's side states in the self-styled Bosnia Serb parliament rejected a peace plan authored by Americans and UN officials. General Vojislav and Lord Owen, argue that they would put the proposal to a referendum instead. Hardline delegates argued that the plan, which would divide the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 20 administrative entities, would require them to give up territory conquered during the 4½-year-long civil war. In response, the Clinton administration tried to rally European support for military action, including possible air strikes against Bosnia Serb positions, or smaller areas-to-emboldened Muslims.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The United States handed over command of a multinational force in Somalia to the United Nations, five months after it stepped in to stop famine from wasting food and aid for the starving. And as military authorities continued their inquiry into the deaths of two Somalis involving soldiers with the Canadian Airborne Regiment in March, the department of national defense said that it was investigating reports that the regimen has right-wing white supremacists among its ranks—including a percentage in Somalia.

KILLING FIELDS

Cameroon's 15-year-old elections scheduled to be held between May 23 and 28 were cast in doubt by continuing anti-roads by pro-peasants, election officials and soldiers by Ruler Roger Mvoumbe. The Ruler Mvoumbe, one of four Cambodian leaders that signed a peace accord in 1993 to end 12 years of civil war, has vowed to disrupt the voting.

THE WORLD'S NEWEST STATE

Ethiopia, which fought a 20-year civil war with Eritrea, recognized its former Red Sea province as an independent and sovereign state. The recognition followed the year-long unanimous choice of Eritreans for secession in a UN-monitored referendum.

A LEADER FOR SRI LANKA

Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Bandaranaike, succeeded Rajoorthy Premadasa, who was killed by a suicide bomber during a May Day rally, as president. Wijesinha said he would to hold peace talks soon with the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the group suspected by police of Premadasa's killing.

Drowning their sorrows

Troubled Russians are hitting the bottle

Klast Aleksandrovich, under one morning's last march behind the broken windows of Station No. 28 in south-west Moscow, with little idea of how he had landed in a locked sobering-up ward that smelled of sweat and unashed Soviet Valentine Pavlov, director of the 28th bar, drink tank, quickly filled in the necessary blanks for her. Reading from an off-duty report, Pavlov noted that police had picked up the 34-year-old who played labour from a vodka- and urine-soaked doorway near a red way station in the centre of the city. "That's it," wined Aleksandrovich, after learning the details. "This is my first time in this place and I am going to quit drinking." But in a nearby police sergeant's break-in to destroying laughter and Pavlov pointedly illustrated a police life of previous offences. Aleksandrovich quickly changed his tune. He had, he confessed, spent many nights in other drunk stations.

Aleksandrovich might be rescued from trying to quit. He, like thousands of others, has been led by social and economic woes, recession to the bottle, to try to blot out the daily misery. But Russians have never needed an excuse to indulge in vodkas. Kremlin has it that Great Prince Vasilko, a grand duke, was averse towards Christianity instead of Islam at the end of the 18th century because he knew that Russians would never accept a religion that banned alcohol. As the prince put it: "If a Russian's got to drink, we cannot do without it." Ten centuries later, many Russian social customs still revolve around drinking—or rather drowning in it—picks—gluttons of vodka. When former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev launched an aggressive campaign to cut alcohol abuse in 1985 by restricting availability of vodka, wine and beer, Russians simply switched to stronger home brew. Alcohol production was halted, but government liquor stores remained open, with 850 billion by some estimates and Russians began derisively addressing Gorbachev, whose drink of choice was sparkling water, as "secretary of water." The anti-drinking crusade ended after only a few years.

Now, vodka Russians unapologetically drink in excess. The rule of vodka is no longer a wise man's job, but baffled workers

costing about 400 rubles (20 cents) are readily available at the grocery run kiosks that line the sidewalks of Moscow and of her Soviet stepdaughters. According to Boris Blatov, a professor who has studied the links between alcoholism and economic problems, residents of Moscow and other big cities drink 50 litres of pure spirits per



Moscow police make an arrest. "It is Russia's joy to drink, we cannot do without it"

capita each year. Complex statistics are not available, but Blatov estimates that in many as 30 million people in the former Soviet Union, more than 10 per cent of the population are alcoholics.

The recent resurgence of alcohol abuse has had a chilling social impact. Russians are again immigrating to Moscow streets and the problems associated with heavy drinking—crime, sickness and aberration, among them—plague the country. Gorbachev's anti-drinking campaign had helped lower the crime rate, but that benefit has disappeared. Alcohol-related crimes have increased by 200 per cent yearly since 1986, and Lt.-Col. Vitaly Gavrilov, director of the government department that deals with the problem, says, "Things are worse now than

they were before Gorbachev started his campaign." In 1982 Russian police registered a record 3.7 million crimes—and alcohol was involved in one-third of them.

Police and spectators on alcoholism argue that Gorbachev's measure failed because they eat the supply of alcohol without offering improved treatment for the disease. Even though state-owned distilleries are now approaching production levels of the early 1980s, the government has blocked scarce funds for funding to provide alcoholics with better medical care and counselling. The only cure, for now, appears to be simply to get the most visible signs of the social illness off the streets. In Moscow alone, police transport up to 500 people daily to the city's 21 sobering-up stations.

At Station No. 28 Pavlov said that police bring in 25 people each day on average, most

PEOPLE

Rock politics

Donna Denorio is a chapter in TV in Canada. As director of music programming for MuchMusic, Toronto-based Denorio, 38, says that has come far out of the station that rock it all. "The music acts just about boy-meets-girl any more," she added. "There are political environmental and social issues in music now."



Denorio: finding strength in 'narrative'

With that in mind, Denorio has introduced the "Vest with a Vengeance" campaign, a series of interviews with video jockeys guide March Much—largely young-adult viewers through the political maze. Romance VI (2000) has interviewed Terry leadership candidate Kim Campbell and on April 20th, Erica Ehm, grizzled Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. Said Denorio, "I think that part of our strength is our narrative on the topic."

A grown-up approach

Terry McMillan's *Waiting to Exhale*, a frank, funny story about four middle-class black women's search for mates, is a publishing phenomenon. It has sold more than 700,000 copies. In hard-cover and earned its author \$23.3 mil-



Branagh: 'You just feel cognoscent!'

Much Ado, cast a number of North American actors, including Dennis Washington, Michael Keaton and Romeo Dzifcak, in a deliberate attempt to make it look and sound as though it was available for everybody, not just for a small cognoscenti." Added Branagh: "I enjoy dismantling the audience. I enjoy Shakespearean acting which is technically adept, so you hear every word, you understand everything. Still, you feel, 'Wow, was that Shakespeare?'"

Hot Kiss

Call it the Great White North. Last week on Broadway, *Reverend Carter*, 41, born in Cranbrook, B.C., drew raves for his starring role in Harold Prince's *Anna of the Sixpence*. When Launched in Toronto last month, the Canadian musical travelled to London's West End before opening on New York City on May 3. Meanwhile, Hamilton born Martin Short, 43, has been playing to sold-out audiences in a musical version of Neil Simon's *The Goodbye Girl*. "They call me the toast of the town," said Short. "But who am I going?"



Short: 'the toast of Broadway'



McGillis: 'To hell with I see it'

grow up," said McMillan. "I wish they would read my work as fiction, which is what it is. It's not a commentary, it's a story." And she is unapologetic about her depiction of men. "I call it as I see it," she added. "There are a lot of women out there having trouble. So for men to say I'm picking on them, that's bullsh*t, it really is."

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CANADA INC.

CANADIAN PACIFIC'S STRUGGLE TO REINVENT ITSELF MIRRORS THAT OF THE ENTIRE CANADIAN ECONOMY

Thousands of Canadians take William Sissons's job very personally. As chairman and chief executive officer of Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Ltd., Sissons, 56, is responsible for much more than Canada's fifth-largest company; he is also the embodiment of some of the country's best-known and most diversified corporate assets. In 1885, Canadian Pacific (CP) completed construction of the national railway that first transformed Canada into a united nation. Later, the company constructed a grand hotel in almost every major city it served by rail. As a result of CP's place in Canadian history, Sissons says, he regularly receives letters from people connecting an everything from CP's silver platters to the color of a new carpet installed in one of its historic hotels. In fact, after restoration of the 78-year-old, 188-room Hotel Macdonald in Edmonton was completed in May, 1990, more than 30,000 people toured through it in just three weeks. Said general manager Tony Carty-Barrett: "There seemed to be a real sense of pride, ownership in the hotel. It was quite amazing." Far has past, author and railway historian Pierre Berton told *Affiliate* that CP's "strategic past is of unusual significance."

The trouble with CP is not limited to Canadians. For years, foreign investors have used the company's assets as a proxy for Canada's economy's widely diversified industries, often exposing it to the key sectors of the economy. And like Canada's currency and debt ratios, a strong reliance on foreign capital has made the company's stock especially prone to volatile swings, based on investor perceptions. During the recession, CP's financial performance—and its share price—suffered a devastating swing. Between 1990 and 1992, the company paid off a loss of \$1.3 billion and its long-term debt soared to \$9.9 billion by the end of last year. Still, as domestic economic prospects have brightened in recently, CP's market performance has reflected growing investor optimism. As well, in the first three months of this year CP reported a profit of \$62 million, compared with a loss of \$40 million in the first quarter of 1992.

But just as the economy grew in a severe economic downturn and the pressures of greater North American



CANADIAN PACIFIC ASSETS

Company	Value	Employees	1992 operating income (loss) (\$ million)
TRANSPORTATION			
CP Rail	180	34,000	(361.2)
CP Trucks	180	4,300	(99.9)
CP Ships	180	400	18.3
NATURAL RESOURCES			
CP Forest Products	61	12,000	349.5
Petroleum	67	1,400	278.9
Forests Can.	180	1,400	41.2
REAL ESTATE			
CP Hotels	180	54,200	52.0
Macdonald	180	1,200	183.2
OTHER			
United	48	2,700	3.5
Landside	47.2	25,200	22.4

trade have wrought fundamental changes in the Canadian economy over the past three years, CP has also been forced to undertake some painful parallel measures. With the exception of its 45-percent stake in a telecommunications company, Hotel Communications Inc. of Toronto, the company's assets are hardly wedged in the cyclical resources industries, which represent Canada's traditional "old boy" economy. But they are the same segments that have suffered from depressed demand, increased global competition and capital-intensive technology. In order to reinvent CP as a more responsive, efficient operator, Sissons is trying to restructure CP and to replace its centralized, hierarchical management with a scaled-down, lean approach.

Now, Sissons is dividing his sprawling company into smaller, more autonomous units where employees have more direct responsibility—and rewards—for financial performance and productivity. CP is willing to bet that managers should be accountable, including several of CP Forest Products' customer companies. And several CP operations have implemented so-called total quality management programs, which ensure that all managers are responsible for a product's quality at all points in its production. "We know that manufacturing is beautiful," Sissons told *Maclean's*. "It's an essential part of survival in current markets."

Despite CP's strong Canadian corporate heritage, it has also been forced to contend with the relentless challenges of markets. At the same time as it is trying to reduce its domestic transportation service, the company has purchased two U.S. railroads. The acquisitions have allowed CP to provide transborder north-south service without interrupting with another rail company an trade with the United States, something under the Free Trade Agreement. In the telecommunications sector, which is the modern equivalent of a national rail infrastructure, CP and Rogers Communications Inc. of Toronto, who merged last year, have joined forces with the U.S. giant AT&T to increase the pace of its new product development and to make connection with U.S. long-distance services easier. In the energy business, Calgary-based EnCana/Canadian Petroleum Ltd., which is 87 percent owned by CP, has announced an international exploration program in 1993.

Yet another area where CP's corporate challenges reflect broader trends in the Canadian economy is deregulation. In transportation, natural gas and telecommunications, CP-owned companies have struggled to come to terms with more open competition. And although Sissons said that rail deregulation has been deeply flawed and long distance telephone deregulation should occur more gradually, he added that, at least, he soundly endorses the principle. "Deregulation has been good for many companies," he noted, "but it's also been very positive for the country in

Costa Rica, where CP's telephone subsidiary has been privatized.

WIN SOME, LOSE SOME

Canada was the latest nation in an increasingly一savage trade war with the United States when a bilateral trade pact ruled that the U.S. commerce department had 90 days to reconsider numerous factors that led to the imposition last May of a 6.5-percent duty against Canadian softwood exports. Spokesmen for the Canadian forest industry, which exported \$6.4 billion in softwood to the United States in 1992, hailed the ruling as a victory, saying it will eventually lead to the elimination of the duty. Spokesmen for the U.S. industry said they would continue pursuing their case in Congress. However, Canadian steel company executives said that they were shocked by a decision by the Canadian International Trade Tribunal that American carbon steel imports have not injured Canadian steel production. The tribunal also said that it would place rate-changing tariffs on steel-plate exports from seven European countries.

PATCHING A RIFT

The Canadian Auto Workers and the United Auto Workers officially ended the local that began in 1989 after the Canadian broke away from the huge U.S. union. Spokesmen for the two groups said that they would work to find a solution on reaching consensus goals in their collective bargaining with the Big Three automakers later this year.

A DEAL TAKES OFF

Transport Canada officials announced that they will take over the existing airport at Toronto's Pearson International Airport in the private sector as part of a plan to build three new runways for Canada's busiest airport. Under terms of the deal, a private developer will finance the estimated \$436-million construction of the runways and then recoup its investment by sharing in the landing fees collected from the airlines.

A COSTLY DECLINE

According to a Bank of Canada study, the competitive position of the Canadian manufacturing sector declined by more than 26 per cent compared with U.S. manufacturing between 1980 and 1989. The report added, however, that Canadian manufacturers began to regain some of the lost ground in 1992. Still, some economists said that the need to boost productivity over further means than manufacturing employment will remain depressed even as output grows. As well, Statistics Canada reported that the national unemployment rate rose to April at 13.4 per cent, down 0.1 per cent in March.

Business Notes

terms of changing for global competition."

Despite the elaborate restructuring plans launched at CP's head office, however, the chances of success remain limited because the company is so widely diversified. While corporate acquisitions were extremely popular with the investment community in the 1990s and 1970s, their lack of focus has cost them little strategic value during the past five years. Now, large pension fund and institutional portfolio managers say that they prefer so-called pure plays—entities whose employees are extremely knowledgeable and competitive in a specific area. Investors want to diversify their holdings, they expect to see the results for themselves by investing in stocks that are among a list of such pure plays.

Last week at CP's annual meeting, Stinson stated that the company is fully contemplating the role of some of its holdings to focus more narrowly on fewer industries. "We're responding to the fact that the company is complicated to analyze—an acknowledged fact," he said. But even more importantly, according to Stinson, is the need to "put our muscle behind the businesses where we have competitive advantages." He said that because of the large amount of capital required to maintain and expand Canadian companies to a size where they can compete in North America or the world, CP must now concentrate in a narrower range of businesses. And the resulting recession means that the demand—and price—of corporate assets is gradually increasing. "A recession can help a re-strategizing by forcing the re-examination of tough decisions and improving productivity," said Stinson. "But it slows things down enormously when there is a need to sell assets."

Stinson acknowledges that CP's role in Canadian history, especially the rail and hotel domains, makes it especially difficult to convert assets to cash. "It's difficult to convert assets in many cases, including Stinson's, given that the same family has worked at CP. But he said the history of unpredictable 'sacred cows' is not possible in the current economic environment."

The struggle to transform CP into a smaller, more competitive entity has also encouraged considerable resistance from the labor movement. In 1993, the company negotiated a series of so-called employment security contracts with its rail employees. And the process of phasing out about 4,000 rail workers over the next several years has already cost the company \$634 million in severance-related payments in the past two years. Still, Stinson said that union leaders have grasped the gravity of the rail reorganization initiative and have become increasingly cooperative.

Although CP management has not yet indicated which assets it will sell or what the

timetable for those sales may be, it is clear that both energy and rail divisions are viewed as cash holdings. For one part, FirstEnergy provides CP with strong growth from its increased production of oil and gas and very solid revenue from its recently increased dividend payments to shareholders, including CP. And although Stinson describes the rail division as CP's largest single business, as the company's largest challenge, there appears to be a long-term commitment to reduce it to profitability. Still, Frederick Laddie, an investment analyst with the investment firm of Harting-Warburg Inc. in Toronto, "U.S. rail companies whose employees are extremely knowledgeable and competitive in a specific area. Investors want to diversify their holdings, they expect to see the results for themselves by investing in stocks that are among a list of such pure plays."

Unlike the Canadian utility industry, which shares similar problems, CP Rail and its principal competitor, CS Rail, seem to prefer cooperation to blood feuds. Last year, the two competitors agreed to combine their operations in the Okanagan Valley and they are now jointly conducting a study of their duplicate services with an eye to further rationalization. Although CP's presentation, which the commissioners recommended, could limit future competition between the two companies, Stinson insisted that he is in favor of it. "There is no room for Crown corporations at this new economy," he said.

But rail is not CP's only problem child. After spending more than \$1 billion to streamline and upgrade CP Forest Products over the past three years, the company posted another first-quarter loss—\$64.3 million in 1993. These results, due to the company's heavy exposure to depressed global pulp and paper markets, have led some industry analysts to suggest that it may not survive when CP reviews its assets for sale. CP's investment in CP Forest Products is down to 62.1 per cent from 66 per cent three years ago, and, in turn, in March, St. Louis Wigwam, a forest products unit, will sell its interest in Research Capital Ltd. in Vancouver. "They tried to fit in as easily as the truckload, but there are no results yet. It's a question of how patient CP's money is at this point in the market."

An equally uncertain investment is a waste management company, Laidlow Inc. In 1988, at the height of the oil well market, CP paid \$109.3 million for a 47.3 per cent voting interest in the company. The rationale was that Laidlow would provide CP with a solid, recession-proof addition to its stable of companies. Still, a slower industrial pace, combined with greater general emphasis on recycling and re-cycling, diminished Laidlow's profitability during the recession. "The latest recession has proven that there really is no such thing as a recession-proof company," said Stinson. But if he intends to follow through on such lessons from the recession and transform CP into a flexible, profitable participant in its chosen businesses, he will have to advance rapidly from refurbishing business hotels to refurbishing archaic complements.



Stinson: shedding assets to focus on core holdings

are the world's oil and gas markets. And in the United States, they have done very well with a combination of rail and energy assets."

In Canada, however, the prospects for a profitable railroad currently appear to be in the distance. The tail of the recession has greatly eroded its base of manufacturing clients who have lower gear bankruptcy at such rates. In the resource sector, several rail rates, the largest domestic users of rail service, have recently suffered from profitless rail services or bankruptcies. As well, Stinson noted that the knowledge-based high-technology businesses that drive this new economy don't necessarily need much rail service.

Although CP management has not yet indicated which assets it will sell or what the

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BUSINESS

The quest for new thirst quenchers

Clear and low-cal are cool for summer

The search for the perfect coffee beans keeps Alan McEwen involving himself around the world for nearly four months a year. McEwen, president of Second Cup Ltd., one of Canada's largest specialty coffee retailers, went to Costa Rica four times in the past year alone. This month, he has introduced his latest find to Edmonton, a city where servers have shown that customers prefer a stronger tasting coffee than their eastern counterparts. The new low-fat beans are being tested in a rare bean called Yata Mague, from an estate in southern Brazil of the same name. If it proves popular, McEwen said, it will soon be available at all 277 Second Cup outlets across Canada. McEwen, a former food company executive, says that he never expected to have to go to such lengths when he bought Second Cup five years ago. But he added that it is now necessary in the shift away from the intensely competitive \$4-billion Canadian beverage market.

Lured by the chance to earn even a small share of that huge market, manufacturers

now offer consumers not only rare and exotic coffees and beans, but a bewildering array of cold coffee, private-label soft drinks, bottled mineral waters from around the world, low-calored beers and so-called New Age juice-based drinks. The beverage industry has also become increasingly segmented—some analysts might even say fragmentized—as it tries to cater to groups with "extreme" conflicting demands that they drinks be healthy, convenient, affordable and provide a little variety in their lives. "People are questing for change," said Tom Pisko, president of Beverage Inc., a Los Angeles-based beverage industry consulting firm. He added, "And that's true, whether it's a new private minister, a new president or a new soft drink." As a result, Pisko said, the competition this summer, traditionally the busiest season for the beverage industry, will be particularly aggressive. "It all comes to the table this year," he said. "This selling season is the most important in the past generation."

Few beverage companies will have more

Canadian coffee drinkers turn to low-calorie beans

at stake this summer than Coca-Cola Co. of Atlanta, Ga., and PepsiCo Inc., based in Purchase, N.Y., along with their Canadian subsidiaries. As the world's two largest soft-drink companies, they dominate the market for non-alcoholic beverages. But every new beverage manufacturer tends to take a chunk of their market. Low alcohol beers, for one, with less than one per cent alcohol, have made dramatic gains since they first appeared in grocery store shelves in 1980. Soft-Isle Inc., an industry analyst with Toronto-based Sprout Securities Ltd., "Their share has come out of somewhere," coffee or, more likely, soft drinks.

Still, it has been primarily

in-store brands of soft drinks, including the highly successful President's Choice line at Loblaw Companies Ltd., that have cut most deeply into the industry leaders' share. Beverage industry analysts estimate that retailers' over-supply of soft drinks, which they frequently sell for up to 50 cents a can than major brands, gave room for 20 per cent of the Canadian market, up from 15 per cent just five years ago. In the United States, private-label soft drinks account for only one cent of the \$60-billion soft-drink business. That has been particularly good news for Cott Beverations Ltd., a company based in Mississauga, Ont., that, among other brands, makes President's Choice as well as soft drinks for 40 major U.S. retailers. As a result, Cott, which had \$60 million in sales last year, has become North America's leading maker of private-label brands.

Partly as a result of the increased competition, the Canadian leader of Cott, Coca-Cola Beverages Ltd., had \$45 million in 1992, its first loss since going public six years ago. The flagging fortunes of Coke and other over-dimensional brands has prompted some analysts to declare that the power of brand names is declining. But John Halligan, a marketing professor at the University of Western Ontario in London, and that private-label brands have, in effect, become better ones. Said Halligan: "A company like Loblaw has spent a lot of money and time building up its President's Choice brand name."

Pepsi is in control of the value of its name that it recently added two new products to its roster. In December, the company launched a light-as-air juice drink, Crystal Pepsi, in Western Canada and, in January, in the rest of

Canada and the United States. It also introduced Crystal Pepsi Lite, hoping to set the number of soft drinks carrying the Pepsi name. By using the word "Pepsi" in the name, analysts say that the company may have confused some customers who expected the least sweet pep to taste like the regular soft drink. Roger Illoppala, group marketing director of Toronto-based Pepsi-Cola Canada Ltd., says he acknowledges that some customers may have been disappointed. But he added that the advantages of using the Pepsi name far outweighed the disadvantages. Said Illoppala: "Our extensions give you high profile and instant credibility."

In launching Crystal Pepsi, the company also joined a growing list of manufacturers trying to differentiate their products through color or lack of it. Illoppala said that the clear color is used so that the new drink is different. He added: "It's not going to taste like Pepsi, it is a new soft drink. We're looking for it to take on a new niche." Meanwhile, Coca-Cola has launched Coke Clear, a clear version of its dark soft drink in the United States, and the United Kingdom, and is introducing the Nordic Mist, its first entrant into the New Age category in the United States. According to Dan Staudenmaier, vice-president of marketing for Coca-Cola's Canadian subsidiary, Toronto,

based Coca-Cola Ltd., there is still room to expand the market for soft drinks in Canada. "Canadians still don't drink as many soft drinks as Americans do, even though the northern states where the climate is comparable," he said. As a result, the company plans to make Coke available in a greater variety of locations, including gas stations, schools and

is trying to move its drinking out of the home, where 80 per cent of all tea is consumed, by making their products more convenient. Said Al Robertson, president of Lyons Teatree Canada Ltd.: "The fact is, many people just don't take the time to be a part of tea." As a result, the company introduced Teatree Power Brew instant tea in Canada last month.

While earlier attempts at instant tea proved disastrous, Robertson said that new technology has revolutionized the company and some of its competitors producing a superior product. Tea companies also are trying to increase Canadian consumption of cold tea. Lipton and Nestle have signed joint-venture agreements with Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola, respectively, to distribute and sell vending machines across the country.

All the same time, Second Cup's McEwen and other specialty coffee retailers are trying to hit the stores in several coffee consumption and convenience locations to try the premium-priced brews. "If you give people good-tasting coffee, they will drink it," McEwen said. "If you give them the regular stuff, they prefer it." And in today's competitive beverage industry, sipping thrills is just one desire that must be satisfied.

BARBARA WICKENS

A CLEAR ATTEMPT TO BOOST SALES

In the 1970s, many of the fastest-growing products in the marketplace were "trendy foods." Then, with the growing preoccupation about health, started in the 1980s, consumer-products manufacturers jumped onto the "lite" bandwagon with everything from calorie-reduced light beer to light butter. Now, if a recent trend continues, the 1990s will be the "crystal-clear" decade. In the past 18 months, a growing list of North American manufacturers have introduced transparent and colorless versions of elements of their products. Shoppers can now buy everything from clear leathers to clear dish-washing soap to clear deodorant. This time around, marketing analysts say, manufacturers are trying to cash in on consumers' desire for a clean environment.

First, "lite" has an important psychological impact," said John Holland, a marketing professor at the School of Business Administration at the University of Western Ontario in London. "Being clear could somehow suggest a product is pure or simple."

Many industry analysts credit Coca-Cola's Clear Crystal Beverage Corp., which bottles hot-flavored sparkling water with helpings to lack of the coffee for clear in 1991. Other clear beverages, and their clear toiletries and household cleaners, soon followed. A survey of 110,000 new applications at the U.S. Patent and Trademark office last year showed that applications using the word "clear" had increased by 77 per cent compared with 1991, while the word "crystal" was up by 13 per cent. At the same time, the use of "lite" or "lite" was down by 11 per cent. Still, some market experts say that clear products are simply a short-term fad in cash on the environmental movement. "Clear doesn't always mean better," said Gerald Colgate, founder and director of the Trends

Research Institute in White Plains, N.Y. "Unless they offer a specific benefit by being clear, many of these products will die a quick and painful death."

For their part, manufacturers say that they did not intentionally set out to develop a clear product for its own sake. Instead, being clear is supposed to indicate that the product has new and different qualities. Robin Thornton, spokesman for Montreal-based Crystal Canada Ltd., said that consumer research showed that consumers did not like the white residue from deodorants and aspartame that got on their clothes. As a result, she said, the company developed Bio Clear deodorant, which it launched in Canada last fall. This summer, she added, Bio will introduce a clear antiperspirant. Consumers will have to decide whether the growing range of clear products offers any genuine benefits. Clearly.

B.W.



Exploration crews in the Andes political and financial turmoil has subsided

Red-hot Chile

Canadian mining companies are rushing south

Under normal circumstances, a Canadian executive on a business trip thousands of miles from home might be expected to jump at the chance to watch a satellite telecast of a Stanley Cup playoff hockey game. But on April 28, at a packed evening reception in a hotel in Buenos Aires, few members of the more than 50 business leaders accompanying International Trade Minister Michael Wilson on a working visit to Chile and Argentina checked into their rooms to watch even a few minutes of hockey on the hotel's cable television system. They were too busy briefcasing along about 200 local executives and government officials in an attempt to cash in on a gold- and copper-rich and natural gas-rich land of mineral undeveloped deposits in the two Latin American countries. "There are a lot of possibilities," said Robin Lawson, a mining company salesman for Calgary-based Canadian Tool Services Inc. "But you have to get down here and meet people."

So far, Canadians are leading the rush of foreign investors to what diplomats call the Southern Cone. During the past five years, Canadian mining companies have invested close to \$2 billion in Chile, making Canada the largest foreign investor in the country. With world metal and minerals prices still

production costs, an average miner's wages, benefits and health care costs total about \$35,000 a year in Chile, roughly two-thirds of what they are in Canada. But the lack of oxygen at high altitudes means that both employees and machinery work more slowly.

Whatever the cost differences, political and economic stability in both Chile and Argentina have made both countries more attractive places to invest. Chile's main factor from 1973 to 1990, Gen. Augusto Pinochet, began moving towards a free-market economy near the end of his repressive reign. But the country will suffice through periodic bouts of destabilizing inflation.

Under democratically elected president Patricio Aylwin, the inflation rate declined to 12 per cent last year from 27 per cent in 1990 and the economy is now expanding by about 10 per cent per year. As well, unaffected by reports from Washington about the pending prognosis of the North American Free Trade Agreement, Chilean officials claimed Wilson vigorously for inclusion in the pact.

The economic climate is also improving in Argentina. Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo has won praise from business leaders for his market reforms and for freezing the inflation rate over the past 18 months. But although Argentina has abundant natural gas and mineral resources, it has lagged behind Chile in developing them. In addition, both the central government and many of Argentina's provincial governments have been corrupt and unpredictable to the point.

But Argentina is clearly determined to have more investment. Said Angel Massa, a government mining official, "Successful mining operations don't end at the Chilean border." Next month, the government will announce the winner of an auction of several gold mining properties in northwestern Argentina, located just across the border from the LAC Minerals' rich Andes mine. LAC is one of two investors holding for the property—both of them Canadian. The other is a consortium that includes a small Vancouver-based company, Manisa Explorations Ltd. Manisa won a similar bid issued on a smaller mine by copper and gold miners two years ago but is now contemplating investing \$600 million to develop it. The project has been viewed by many as a test case in Argentina, and Manisa's chief of operations in Buenos Aires, Jorge Ponce Jones, H. Massa and other providers are well, other Canadian companies are poised to rush in behind them.

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The fire the next time: deflation

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

So much has happened to change the way we view Canada's economy and its inflationary history that it's worthy of a new name: *deflation*. We may soon be confronted with another dollar slide, a violent economic phenomenon known as "deflation."

For one thing, the new governor of the Bank of Canada is in. John Crow has been walking in his more-or-less sandals, determined to wean inflation down to zero—no matter what the consequences. The price has been billions of dollars worth of lost growth and hundreds of thousands of vanished jobs. According to a finance department estimate, Crow's known crusade has cost Canada at least 10 per cent (or estimated \$10 billion) in economic output.

Ironically, Crow's uncompromising inflationary goal will result in an unprecedentedly severe round of deflation. It's technically defined as a tame or lower prices and declining money supply, but the most recent experience with deflation was the Great Depression of the 1930s. Other rounds of deflation, such as the 1950-1951 period, did not produce a depression and at the moment there are few indications a full-scale depression is a prospect.

A Vancouver investment dealer named Jim Majedie, who specializes in deflation studies, calculates that while the odds for a global deflation are only 20 per cent, the probability of Canada slipping into a state of deflation, or not deflating, is at least 80 per cent. Educated at Winchester College and Oxford, Majedie came to Canada in 1964, working first as an accountant with Price Waterhouse and later as a stock analyst with Nesbitt Thompson. He now runs a medium-sized money management firm with 1,000 clients and \$30 million on the books.

"I believe the chance of a deflation of the Canadian dollar—through a government debt crisis—is 50 or 60 years occurring over the next three to four years in a very light," he told me during a recent interview. "As a result

Massive devaluation of the dollar 'could happen overnight,' says one investment dealer who has devised his own Deflation Monitor

of fact, this devastating phenomenon could happen overnight, before investors have a chance to react. While deflation, if it takes place will be global, Canadian financial markets will be the first to be impacted by the deflationary tide. As and when losses in venture loan confidence in our government debt short-term interest rate levels will head almost overnight into the 15-to-20-per-cent range. Canada's out-of-control budget deficits and burgeoning debt levels represent an inevitable warning sign."

Among the seven major industrialized countries only Italy is running under the strain of greater public debt burdens. But Majedie emphasizes the gravity of the Canadian situation by pointing out that, while only five per cent of Italian government debts are held abroad, 27 per cent of Canada's outstanding government debt is owed to foreigners who have no compunction about switching their investments to safer havens. "We're not considered to be the politically stable economy we once were, and with a federal deficit coming up fast year and a Quebec campaign next year, all bets are off. The real danger is not so much that foreign investors will sell off the

Canadian debtors in their portfolios, but that they'll stop buying new ones."

"If the debt buyers go on strike," Majedie warns, "and we'll have to raise \$60 billion this year just to keep even, the International Monetary Fund will move in and tell us what we can no longer afford to do. That will certainly create major cutbacks in government spending. The more we postpone getting our debt ratios under control, the worse it'll be. But I remain convinced there's no political will to do very much until we have such a crisis. So in that sense, the sooner it happens the less damage there might be."

A unique Deflation Monitor that Majedie has devised tracks 17 economic indicators such as U.S. and Canadian debt to gross domestic product ratios as well as money supply growth rates and stock market indices. The monitor currently stands at 47 on a scale of 100, which Majedie ranks as reasonable but not immediately threatening. As skeptical as he is of Canada's future, Majedie recognizes few economic havens anywhere else. He expects Germany's budget deficit will hit \$180 billion by 1995, with France at \$60 billion this year and Britain at \$115 billion.

Even Switzerland, the most conservative of first-world economies, has had problems with a bank in Basel that became one of the real estate loans. Japan's economy is still deteriorating, its \$200-billion fiscal stimulus package having failed to temper the expected credit expansion. According to the Japanese ministry of finance, 21 of the country's leading banks hold \$327 billion in non-performing loans, though some conservative claims the losses are closer to \$60 billion.

There is an alternative to all these doomsday scenarios. It's called deflation and it's painful but tricky to administer. Under ideal conditions, debt levels are gradually reduced and the system is held in balance during the process. The trouble is that the debt cycle seems to have taken on a life of its own, and the sophisticated macroeconomics required for orderly deflation may no longer be possible.

The central banks have grinded themselves to fighting inflation since the late 1970s. Majedie charges, "which is why deflation will probably catch them by surprise. The critical thing is to reduce the annual increase in government debt to below the nominal growth rate in the economy. As the moment federal and provincial debts are still expanding at about eight per cent a year, while the economy is static or only slow to five per cent."

What we really need to do, according to Majedie, is cut government expenditures enough so that in our own public sector debts are reduced to manageable proportions. For fiscal year 1992/1993, 32 cents of every federal dollar collected went to pay interest on debt and, according to Majedie, historically the pain of no return is 40 cents. "After that," he protests, "there will be no inflation. We'll have to restructure."

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FLOWER POWER

Gardening—high-tech and traditional—is enjoying a boom across the country

It's a sunny May weekend evening in the Ottawa suburbs of Nepean. Pushing shopping carts full of bags, boxes and more, mom and children wade the 10 indoor aisles and outdoor walkways of the community's White Rose nursery. Battered from winter's long grip, the plants they now are, regardless of what they do for a living, primitive adolescents. Panning and exclaiming, they wade through a huge莽原 of shrubs, shrubs, trees, clematis, bagged earth, moss, gravel, sand and bark, lifting their carts as they go. Winter has turned the corner into spring and their merriment—shared with millions of others across Canada—is to the plant, water and fertilizer. Karen Garber, a 20-year-old professional florist who manages the Nepean

White Rose store, looks exasperated and says, "Now is the time, no question about it." Canadian customers love us to see her for advice on root, cut, sow and match. "The old traditional cross-year-fingers workflow," says Garber, "is gone and a couple of weeks away."

In much of stand-and Canada that crucial window in the long Victoria Day weekend is May when the chapter of frost has largely disappeared. Green-thumbed Canadians, plowed and armed, are about to launch the annual crusade to create gardens that will last their last look by comparison.

There are, however, isolated countervolts of discontent. Some gardeners say the office-trained marketing of their pastime and its merchandising paraphernalia play too large a part in Canada's one and somewhat passive. But for most, the practices are both simple and obvious: enjoyment and a sense of achievement. The appeal is clearly broad. "More than 80 per cent of Canadian gardeners are way or another," says Made Cullen, 37-year-old president of the seven-nursery Ottawa-based chain of Winald and Collen.

That popularity has shown up in several ways.

For instance, sales of the publicly traded White Rose nursery have more than doubled—from \$11 million in 1988 to \$24 million last year. Total revenues of the gardening and landscaping and us—try—an estimated \$4.3 billion nationwide—have doubled in the last decade. The circulation of Canadian Gardening, a magazine that began publication only three years ago, has

grown from 40,000 to 115,000. In fact, gardeners are besieged by an unprecedented flood of information from magazines, books and TV and radio gardening shows, frost-bitten produce catalogues of five years ago.

While the market has diversified, so has the customer. Judy Sheldren, president of the Ottawa Horticultural Society, says that its membership of 600 ranges in age from 12 to 96. "We have Indians, Indians and Chinese—people from all over the world," she says. In Ottawa alone, there are 200 local societies with about 50,000 members. There are similar associations in other provinces, and also subgroups whose members specialize in growing roses, trees, shrubs, rocks or daffodils. Gardeners flock to special lectures on once-rejected alternatives to growing in the backyard such as indoor, container or balcony gardening.

At the same time, legions of women in their 30s and 40s are galvanizing the nation: that gardening's mysteries were fully understood only by older people or those who "had nothing else to do." Recession-hit baby boomers are forgoing expensive vacations and instead spending their diminished dollars on beautifying their properties. "They want to enhance the quality of their life without having to buy a big top in Hawaii," says Cullen. Consumer Gardening editor Luis Prado thinks that people in their 30s and 40s are discovering gardening as if it was something that "was never there before." Says Beverly Simpson, general manager of Vandy's Seeds in Park, P.E.I. "We're now running into a younger clientele and they want different things." Lynne Bauld, proprietor of Lynne's Little Elf Garden Centre near Victoria on Vancouver Island, is getting a lot of male customers in their 30s. "It's not in

expensive as some other things," says Bauld. "You can do a lot of gardening for \$500."

Beyond its modest entry-level price tag, gardening's appeal has a lot to do with the awakening passion for conservation. Says Ed Tapp, a St. Albert, Alta., horticulturist, "People just feel a lot closer to the earth these days." And more reluctant to dole it with chemicals, gardeners report a greater interest in natural processes such as composting.

Despite the enthusiasm for exotic plants, there is a yearning for tradition. The Victoria-era English country garden look is enjoying a comeback. And perennials, which flower year after year and were part of most Canadian gardens years ago, have once again become big sellers. Bauld of St. Albert's Tap. "When I came to Edmonton in the 1980s, you really had to scrub to find anyone who sold perennials." And Canadians are also rediscovering wildflowers and other native plants. Says Bauld, "This year we're getting a lot of interest in plants native to British Columbia—grasses, dogwood, ferns and low bush cherry."

No matter what their preferences, gardeners are also becoming a more serious bunch. For one thing, they tend to plan their gardens more formally. Says 38-year-old David Ross, who grew from 26-year-old sprout Norele in Woodlawn, near Ottawa. "Not so long ago we were at the stage at Let's just throw it in and see what happens." Now, we start planning in December the year before." Alberta Nigerian couple Ebene and Jan Dapitanjli grew up plain this year in plant perennials, instead of the vegetable gardens that had been plagued by marauding woodchucks. "What's nice about this planning," reflected Jan Dapitanjli, 33, "is that it gives you time to look forward to the good weather that lies ahead."

Bel there may be signs of friction—if not trouble—in gardens



Nicole, David
Meet the
best team to
plan next
year's garden
in November
in December



Shopping for
plants of
curb-side in
Toronto now,
electronics
can control
the house



McCrindle in his Halifax garden. It's off to a bit too much Me affliction show.

day is better than yours and you think, 'What the heck did I do wrong?'" That and to keep up with the neighbors, suggests Alan Pearson, director of the 2,700-acre Royal Botanical Gardens in Hamilton, may stem from the fact that "people are beginning to see their gardens as an extension of their homes."

But whatever the differences between gardeners, there is one constant—the annual search for improvements in last year's theme, whether in color, arrangements or species. Everybody does it. In Yellowknife, 71-year-old Stan Bryton, who makes his own earth in a self-poor area by mixing soil with shredded greenery and sand, is adding watercress and catnip to his cauliflower, broccoli, carrots, peas, beans, radishes and onions. Says Bryton: "If you look after it well, almost anything will grow here. It's a short season but the summer days are long." In Midtown Hot, London, is adding a wild cucumber vine to a small city plot.

Now that the roses have come and gone and the tulip is in full bloom, a lot of people are trying the summer before in the backyard take time to reflect on why they garden. "It's a Saks Stock," says Shelly Schmitz, deputy leader of the federal Liberal party's rural areas committee, "but there are the fruits of your labor in a very direct way." In the officious she even enjoys reading about gardening: "I sit there and think about the things I never have time to do," says David Massie. "What could be better than working with Mother Nature and and the earth and living things?" Edeltraud Schmitz, a manager at a landscape design firm in Ottawa, sees gardening as a source of joy. "There's something magical about going out in the garden first thing in the morning and seeing what has come up overnight," she says.

Judy Shredel remembers the pleasure of gardening in the four provinces where she has made her home—her native Newfoundland, Alberta, Nova Scotia and now Ontario. "Every one has been different," says Shredel. "But I'm a Newfie at heart and I guess I'm prejudiced. We had beautiful rhododendrons and lilies and heather grew wild." In my case, says Shredel, now 54, "It has been a wonderful hobby. The motto of our society is that gardening adds life to your years and years to your life." That's a prescription that Canadian gardeners—out to greater focus with every passing spring—are clearly now taking to heart.



Gardens in earnest, the hobby doesn't now send willow parades blue man, yellow raspberries

Worldly tastes

Horticultural horizons are now as wide as the world itself in a nation that used to rely on old gardening standbys like peas and carrots, potatoes and parsnips. Take the strawberry goji, a small shrub with sweet edible fruit. Or the Chinese Jiazi Wine, a dark green, thick-leaved vine that grows round indoles. Its fruit can be used to make either a drink that tastes like lychee juice or something resembling a gelatin dessert. Then there's the Dwarff Egg Tree, a novel pot plant that bears edible white, cylindrical fruit two inches long. Those and dozens of other exotic species from Africa, Asia and Latin America are available from a seed house that home maker Sally Shurbutt runs from her home in Kauka, Ont. Her business began just two years ago "and while we started off very slowly, now we're growing about \$10,000 worth."

The rarer species offered by Shurbutt—all adaptable to gardeners' outer edges, a kind of horticultural midwives. But even the plastic flowers, fruits and vegetables offered by traditional Canadian growers are becoming more varied with each passing season. Canadian seed houses now offer the Russian strawberry, Manchurian plant, and such indoor wall beauties as the white butterfly plant, which has the special ability to clean up your air. There are also blue roses, yellow raspberries, varieties of strawberries as big as hen's eggs and special gardenias—a can seed mixes ("flat shake and scatter") designed to attract butterflies or butterflies. Or, in the case of the Moonlight Garden ("a ragtime display of hauntingly lovely blooms"), flowers that look their best when the sun goes down.

To some, the success of this wealth of new species is a testament to the daring and cosmopolitanism of Canadian gardeners. Says Edeltraud Schmitz, a manager of an Ottawa landscape design firm: "People try out things now—it's to help them outlast and more knowledgeable." But as Toronto gardening writer H. Fred Gule points out: "If new species are introduced every year, old ones pass away, too. For instance, I used to grow a lovely highly perfumed rose called Crimson Glory that I don't think is available anymore."

One of the most popular items is, you got it? The tomato. "You'll still find them in almost every order that comes in," says Beverly Sonnen, general manager of Vesey's Seeds in York, P.E.I. But there are many more varieties of tomato than there used to be. Donnazon Seed House of Georgetown, Ont., this year offers its customers 35 varieties, including so-called Husky Gold, new for 1993, a globe-shaped frost, golden-orange in color, that is "resistant to hot, dry weather." In uncertain times, an old friend like the tomato still represents order, familiarity and permanence in an expanding range of choice.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa



IN AN IMAGE WITH WHICH SMIRNOFF MIXED

Family ties

Tracing the genetic link to a deadly cancer

In 1980, doctors saw two patients from northeastern Newfoundland who had suffered from colon cancer to see Jane Green, a medical geneticist at Memorial University in St. John's. Both patients knew that cancer was prevalent in their family background and, recalled Green, "were especially concerned" that their children might develop it. After studying medical records, Green realized that the two patients were members of the same extended family in which an inherited disorder appeared to cause colon cancer. She also knew Green said that the family could be a valuable medical resource because researchers could study the history of a large number of family members who resided in the same remote region through successive generations. Green's belief was vindicated last week when researchers in the United States and Ireland reported a dramatic discovery after studies involving the Newfoundland family and another in New Zealand.

They had come close to detecting a gene that causes some cases of colon cancer and other forms of cancer. Experts said that the finding would eventually open the way for new screening techniques to identify potential victims and allow early treatment of colon cancer. The gene is *questionable* is not the only cause of colon cancer. Doctors involved in the study said that the gene they have proposed probably causes about 14 per cent of all cases of colon cancer, while other genes, diet and smoking play a role in the remaining cases. In 1980, the total number for year for which figures are available, 4,031 Canadians died of colon cancer.



Green: dramatic discovery

Starting last fall, the collection of blood samples from 35 members of the extended family Green passed along the blood samples, with coded information on the family's history, to Vogelstein's team. Researchers then extracted genetic material from the blood samples. Using molecular genetics techniques, researchers search for telltale "markings"—unique portions of genetic material that act as fingerprints. Their goal is to find a marker that was shared by all the family members with cancer.

Vogelstein told Mandel's that at one point, after team members had unsuccessfully searched for about 350 markers, "we were getting frustrated and were even thinking of giving up, but, he added, "A member of the Newfoundland family contracted colon cancer. He was a 27-year-old man and was seeing colon cancer in someone so young convinced us that we were on the right track. So we tried another 180 or so markers—and we hit pay dirt," Vogelstein said that the defective gene is on chromosome number 2, one of the 23 pairs of chromosomes that contain the approximately 100,000 genes found in every human cell.

The next step, Vogelstein said, will be to identify the gene and the defect in it that causes cancer. Once that has been done, tests will be able to detect which people carry the defective gene. They can then be screened for the presence of cancer in its early stages. When colon cancers are caught soon enough, added Vogelstein, they can be surgically removed with a high rate of success—a prospect that could significantly diminish the ravages of a deadly disease.

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TELEVISION

A spacey odyssey

Oliver Stone makes a futuristic melodrama

WILD PALMS
(CCTV/ABC, May 16, 7:30, 10)

The rhinoceros turns up frequently in the hero's kitchen or in his defined swimming pool. And with talking holograms, a computer virus that devours people and a chilling religion that causes a hellish contagion, *Wild Palms* takes the prize for the most provocative television of the year so far. The science-fiction series stars the first female Oscar-nominated Oscar winner (Faye Dunaway) on TV here. In fact, it is more of a full frontal assault on the programming conventions and the sensibilities of the media. Set in Los Angeles in 2007, the show focuses on the sinister designs of a dimensionally evil royal called Senator Ravenna Kreutz (Dunaway). Log onto or log on to a revolutionary technology that converts television transmissions into three-dimensional holograms, silicon creatures live on right in viewers' living rooms. And, true to the spirit of the comic strip that inspired the series, Kreutz has another agenda. He wants to rule the world. Creutz's megalepsion that he is, the senator is still a shrewd observer of other cultures. With his new technology, he says, he has "transformed the soul and locked it inside a household shrine—the TV set."

Like the other holodecked American networks, ABC is well-bent to reverse an honored duty in that household shrine. It is heartily promoting the program, billing it as an "Event Series." There is even a companion book, called *The Wild Palms Reader* (hardback \$19.95), which expands on the characters' lives. The other major, too, have turned to the courts to prevent big-name talent for the small screen. NBC got *Lawrenzia Bembeneck* (Tatum O'Neal) to produce *Resolute*, an off-beat police show set in Baltimore, which has won critical acclaim, but low ratings, since its debut in February. *Prisoners* (Mandy Patinkin) recently underwent a major revision to a women's basic牢房. *A Legend of Thorfinn* (Oscar, *One Cut*) is a one-series. *Meanworld*, Steven Spielberg, Francis Ford Coppola and Robert Altman are also making excursions to the tube.

Stone's participation in *Wild Palms* seems

to have guaranteed the show's four directors (the best known is Kathryn Bigelow) a degree of artistic invention rarely seen on TV. *Wild Palms* generates many conventions of its own. Screenwriter Bruce Wagner, who developed the idea from his comic strip in the fashion magazine *Defile*, is as on-handy to explain puzzling events and recurring inci-



Scene from *Wild Palms*: *Allegro*, adj. *histrioness*

and. And his dialogue is fast, often witty and full of postscript references and computer buzzwords. The cinematic ratios are square, too, unusual camera angles, evocative lighting and a compelling sound track that ranges from Gustav Stravinsky to the gongs and compositions of Japanese composer Isamu Saitoh.

Like more and more television shows, *Wild Palms* offers moments of self-referencing humor. In one sequence, Stone turns up on a TV set talking about *JFK*, his controversial 1991

cover story about the Kennedy assassination. The talk-show host, contrasting an *Stone's* allegations of a coverup conspiracy, says, "So, 15 years after *JFK*, the files were released, and you were right. Are you happy?"

The first episode demands a certain patience to watch. There are many characters, and their relationships to each other are unclear. The hero is Harry Wykoff (James Tolcher), an ambitious yet mild-mannered lawyer who is experiencing intense nightmares, usually involving a rhinoceros. With Grace (Dina Delano) runs a chic dress shop and looks after their 10-year-old son, Coby, and daughter Dorothy. They are a relatively happy yuppie family, but there is a sense of their disarray. Man in suits and sunglasses recently beat up someone on a neighboring lawn, at a restaurant where Harry is having lunch, suddenly amnesiac uses her brother's name and drug use may have been.

The tension soon becomes even more ominous when an old friend of Harry's (Kim Cattrall) as Palace Guard tries him to help her locate her missing son. Through Palace's connections, Harry goes to work for Chairman S, which also fronts for the senator's more dubious enterprises. Harry soon learns about the existence of the Pathos, a secret organization founded by Kreutz, whose tactics reportedly include holodecks and humanizing children. A small group, the Friends, is dedicated to end the senator's presidential ambitions and dismantle New Freshet following. Kreutz that you can stop a commercial. His wife's friends and colleagues are disengaged—scattered or tortured in truly inventive ways.

While the story is patently absurd, there is a dissonance between the hilarity and the unknown that creates an unsettling mood. As the men sport Edwardian collars and ties and the women dance together in 1920s sequins and Mardi Gras, there is talk of the "Florida disaster," a manmade oil slick (not killed 90,000 people in Boca Raton. But what makes *Wild Palms* an intelligible gripping is the way that it embraces soapopera melodrama and takes it to a profane Grand Guignol level. It is surely a trashy high (or low) to see Angie Dickinson (as Grace's mother, Jessie) gleefully pulling on white gloves as she prepares to grab and a victim's eye—or seagull's wing) for her collection in Japanese.

By turns silly and engrossing, distastefully violent and playfully funny, *Wild Palms* knows hot and cold, like the political prisoner at the State Penitentiary anyone who explains that he has "a mild case of mood disorder, except for something I hate," some will find the series indigestible. But the sheer novelty and the strong cast may well attract just what the senator ordered: a captive audience.

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Scene from *Pearl*, with Van Poyles front and center—and an inescapable message

FILMS

Black in the saddle

Bringing a bit of soul to the classic western

The western was retooled to be dead. But in the past few years, it has come back with a vengeance—and a retooled agenda. West, Kevin Costner's overhauled the Hollywood myth of how the West was won with *Dances with Wolves* (1990), his romantic epic about Indian dignity. Then, last year, Clint Eastwood shot up his own漫游 legend in the film western *Unforgiven*. Now, actor-director Mario Van Peebles has spiced up a new frontier with *Pearl*, Hollywood's first major black western. It is a younger, more lewd, less reflective film than either *Dances* or *Unforgiven*. But it stands well as another landmark in the evolution of a genre that has become a barometer of attitudes towards violence in America.

The son of filmmaker Melvin Van Peebles, Mario, 36, began his career as an actor. He made a splashy directing debut two years ago with the critically acclaimed *New Jack City*, a violent, morally charged rockabilly about black drug lords in Los Angeles. *Pearl* is more ambitious and more impressive. It is a full-fledge action movie, rich with all the elements of a classic western. And Van Peebles is way ahead when it comes to a black western: "We have more white people in *Pearl* than *Unforgiven* had black people," he told *Entertainment Weekly* in Los Angeles recently.

"But they didn't call it a white western."

Pearl is escapist entertainment, but it does have an inescapable message. While establishing the black cowboy's place in frontier history, it doubles as a fable for contemporary men. "There were a lot of things I wanted to do with *Pearl*," said Van Peebles. "How many people know that out of every three cowboys who was black, or that of the 40 first settlers in Los Angeles, 25 were black? How many people know the very name 'cowboy' came from the fact that slave heads used to take care of the livestock and they would fixes 'em?"

Acknowledging, setting the historical record straight, *Pearl* is also riffed with allusion to the Rodney King trial and last year's Los Angeles riots. During a massive shooting, as white rampagers armed with heavy artillery are reducing a black settlement to splinters, a plaintive voice cries out obviously from a storefront: "Can't we all just get along?"—a question from *Race*, *Apocalypse*. "No justice, no peace," echoes the slogan that pervaded Los Angeles blacks during the King trial.

Putting a righteous spin on frontier justice, *Pearl* endorses the spirit of *Molokai* X's credo: "By any means necessary." But black Spike Lee's movie, *Molokai* X, which opens with video footage of the King beating, *Pearl* uses its contemporary references for comic

relief. "I wanted the movie to laugh at itself," said Van Peebles. "That's a western, and it's not trying to be anything else."

It is a parodic tale that begins in the Cuban jungle during the Spanish-American War of 1898. Persecuted by a corrupt commanding officer (Glynn Turman), a sharpshooter named Jesus (Van Peebles) and his white lieutenant, Little Jim (Stephen Baldwin), flee with a band of bold black soldiers (black instrumentation). In New Orleans, they team up with a slick riverboat gambler named Father Tim, played with hammy bravado by rap star Big Daddy Kane. Timming an audience, they ride west, heading to Jesus' birthplace, a African community called Free-Mossie founded by exiles after the Civil War. (Co-writer Sy Richardson based it on a black township founded by his own grandfather, King David Lee.)

Jesus has returned on a mission of vengeance. His memory is seared by fleshbacks to a white ranger that killed his father, a pastor, who was insanely crucified on the timber frame of his own church. Free-Mossie's Sheriff Custer, played by Blair Underwood of TV's *L.A. Doctors*, Christ in a come-uppance. But Jesus sees himself in "a whole lot of colored people down on their knees, prayin' for pie in the sky." Age, religion, or distance cannot stop the white vigilantes and the neighborhood towns, who are led by the effeminate Sheriff Sam (Richard Jordan)—the pastor in a play by Daryl Gates, the former L.A. police chief.

With *Pearl*, Peebles displays an astonishing range and vision as a director. Shifting, shifting, shifting from action to comedy to serious drama, he assumes a loose, manly style throughout. His cameras almost never stops moving. One of the few times it does is for an awkward romantic interlude, a giddy flossing of sex and sentiment. It is the kind of carefree giddiness that Sam's son, Joe (Jesse L. Martin), a successful author, shares in his basement with his wife, Beth (Lisa Horner), a successful author, shares a basement in Sydney with her husband, a career-free Frenchman named J. P. (Dionne Gabri), and her teenage daughter, Beth. Beth acknowledges that her marriage, like her house, is a creaky hulk affair: "Had to lay my own wedding ring." And during a visit by her free-spirited sister, Vicki (Merry Rose), it turns out to be more precocious than she had thought. While Beth drives into the dinner with her father, trying to reconcile with him before he dies back home, her sister and husband tumble into an opportunistic affair.

As the love, meanwhile, the director projects the strong, silent character of Clint Eastwood in *Sojourner* (Lion'sgate's spaghetti western)—he even wears the same style of hat. Van Peebles, who合作ed with Eastwood in *Man with a Plan* (1988), says he's got the actor to tell him: "Sometimes it's better to play a character back a little to the audience. If they've understood, they'll lean in—you don't have to fill in all the blanks." Van Peebles has learned his lesson well. But he is rating with his own press, and bringing a lot of heat to the Hollywood western.

Putting a righteous spin on frontier justice, *Pearl* endorses the spirit of *Molokai* X's credo: "By any means necessary." But black Spike Lee's movie, *Molokai* X, which opens with video footage of the King beating, *Pearl* uses its contemporary references for comic

BRUCE D. JOHNSON / *Pearl*

FILMS

Exiles in love

Romance can be torture among the uprooted

They are all dreams of displacement—three new movies about characters who leave the safety of home and adventure searching upward. And some of them come from Hollywood. Two of the films are Australian: *The Last Days of Chet Ness*, an intense drama about a family that arrives, and *White Sappho*. See a Gothic tale of erotic obsession set in 19th-century Japan. The third is a co-production involving Canada and Australia: *Map of the Broken Heart*, a story of a far-flung romance between an Irish man and a Māori woman.

The Last Days of Chet Ness is the most accessible of the three. Separately directed by Australian actors Guy Pearce and Cate Blanchett, it is about a fatherly bond and betrothal. Both (Lisa Horner), a successful author, shares a basement in Sydney with her husband, a career-free Frenchman named J. P. (Dionne Gabri), and her teenage daughter, Beth. Beth acknowledges that her marriage, like her house, is a creaky hulk affair: "Had to lay my own wedding ring." And during a visit by her free-spirited sister, Vicki (Merry Rose), it turns out to be more precocious than she had thought. While Beth drives into the dinner with her father, trying to reconcile with him before he dies back home, her sister and husband tumble into an opportunistic affair.

As Vicki, Forges projects a wary vulnerability, the sweetly measuring edges that she brought to the role of novelist Janet Frame in *An Angel at My Table* (1990). And Horner, with her motherly tenderness that even a father would shun, shows her. She does not seem like a virgin. Beth is the story's moral anchor, but all the characters are sympathetic, at some level, taking affects where they can find it in the outback of family life. Scripted by Australian writer Belinda Bauer, *Chet Ness* pangs with fine-lined emotional detail. Original writing, deadpan delivery, and sweetening images combine to create a sensitive intelligence.

White Sappho is set about a more extreme family affection. Based on the 1966 novel by Jean Rhys, it is the weird story of Lord Rochester's first wife, who, the widow in the title, from Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* to Antonioni's *Women in Love*, a French Creole beauty who grows up in



Lionized (top), Parker, Creole spirit, colonial age

Jasmine (Isabella Rossellini) Perfect soils from England is widowed in an arranged marriage. She falls deeply in love. But Rochester's English relationship is disturbed by uncontrollable forces of sex, nature and ethnic bloodshed. And their romance comes down to a primal clash between her Creole spirit and his colonialism.

Australian director John Duigan lets the drama unfold in a silence of high images set to an intriguing soundtrack by Stewart Copeland. Duigan draws strong performances from both Parker and Claudia Schiffer, who plays the Rochester's intra-familial fighting horsewoman, Christopher. But Laundau is weak in the central role. Although her character's mind is supposed to be at odds, it is hard to find much else sense of it behind her one-note performance. Her body, however, is eloquently played, with Parker's energetic sex scenes. The filmmakers seem to know to show and

to spell out the sex, the magic, the spirituality. And the script is cluttered with narrative, erotic references to join the dots. It leaves no room for subtlety. Powerful performances by the black stars overshadow the proud agent of the post-slavery Caribbean. And White Sappho's Sex is sexual, erotic and erotic images. But, lacking a fluid point of view, they cringe into a chronic state of mirthless jitters.

Map of the Broken Heart charts colonial arrogance and culture shock in a colder climate. A co-production involving Canada, England, France and Australia, the story begins in the Canadian Arctic. In 1898, Miller (Peter Bergman), a map surveyor from Montreal, flies into an isolated village and whisks away an 11-year-old boy named Arrik (Robert Janett) to a Montreal hospital run by nuns. Looking for some solace and the alienation of whiteness, Arrik strikes up a strong friendship with a Māori girl named Ahurere (Hanae Gohdes). But their intimacy alarms the hospitable teacher (Graeme Morrison), who translates Ahurere to Ottawa.

The story then shifts to the Second World War. Arrik, played by Hawaiian actor James Scott Lee (formerly star in *Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story*), has become a member of a crew based in Ottawa. There he meets Ahurere, who, was portrayed by French actress Anne Parillaud in *The Young Adam*. She works in another commando's London-based division, analyzing aerial intelligence. But, to Ahurere's dismay, she has become involved with Miller, who is now an air force colonel commanding a reconnaissance plane.

Map metaphors abound as Arrik magnifies his romantic possession—reading Ahurere coded messages in photographs that he takes from his brother. As the lovers blindly navigate their way to a wholeness, Bergman's character harbors an elaborate ending with a lesson in metaphor: "Women are a map," he says. "You've got to understand their longitude and how much latitude you like."

The movie, directed and co-written by New Zealander Waikar West, errs on the side of banality. And the dialogue is strewn with earnest statements about the plight of natives, which sound especially banalistic coming from the manipulatively French Parillaud. Mixing 18 actors and locations from all over the map, the film seems strained by the demands of international co-production. Jusline and Gohdes, both natives of northern Canada, are capturing in the film's banal scenes on Baffin Island. But as the children grow up, confidence sets in, and *Map of the Broken Heart* loses its bearings.

BRUCE D. JOHNSON



Mulroney's farewell embarrassment

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Several years ago by happenstance, something that happens to all lucky journalists: your agent loaned himself to the company of Chantal Herring, president of *Espresso*. He had made the long flight from Montreal and wanted a weekend recovery from jet lag at a quiet inn before starting his diplomatic schedule.

He eagerly agreed, though in his 50s. We went on a picnic and he entertained for hours—he was actually born on Bataille—with his stories. He actually knew, because he once served there, that Ulysse Bataille in Marguerite is the only capital in the world smaller than Ottawa.

In 1974 when the United Nations passed its infamous resolution equating Zionism with racism, Herring, an Israeli, a Conservative and a member of the Canadian Senate, coldly ripped the resolution in half. Now, reaching 75, he is retiring after the allotted two terms in the ceremonial post, and a New York Times headline said it all: His Master of Ceremonies and Now for a Gracious Exit.

The unusually benign to most journalists who is also retiring, a master of oral art, never achieved any status, and when it is anything but grueling. The Brian Mulroney farewell tour has become embarrassing, something like an aging rock star who won't get off the stage. What is this just through Mouse and Bone and Paris and London? The Grateful Dead? The Rolling Stones? The Who?

It started with chortles in California to Ronald Reagan, who is still in every airport these days. Then that lark in Texas, where he attempts to meet George Bush and ends up with a front page obituary. (Why would a lame duck want to meet a lame duck with a front page?)

Mulroney is acting in a most peculiar fashion these days, days. Talk about defiance—at if properly cocking a stink at what he can know is the public road. He has been driven out of office by the relentless truth at the popularity poll, and in as far as I can determine, Lyndon Johnson in 1968 decided to run again because of the public revulsion over the Vietnam quagmire. Neither one could face



the prospect of certain defeat at the polls.

What is so remarkable is the great man's erratic explanation in his interview speech that he was doing this only so he could ensure that an assumed Conservative successor in the prime minister's chair could whip the Grits in the fall.

Now, with something resembling a lashing larder, something resembling a lashing larder, the fierce, spent stages of the world he presided over the previous ten, he and only he, has the clout to influence world leaders with all the sarcasm gathered in the *Tele* Committee, Westminster, and the Rita Corleone on Sherbrooke.

There's an important new book out, *Ridge of Disgrace: The Assassination of Canada in the Mulroney Years*, by Lawrence Martin, formerly *The Globe and Mail* correspondent in both Moscow and Washington. He has obtained White House and state de-

partment names, showing the American strategy towards Ottawa from the moment Mulroney entered 24 Sussex Drive and provide, declared, "Canada is open for business again."

Reassis, with his lightheart attitude towards his young Irish soul, constantly reassured any of his cabal that he is an easy-roller, "Brian underneath." Of course he did, and that's why we're moving ever more towards an American design.

Martin details how Mulroney's closest American friend was not a high-level Washington figure or respected academic or careerist but, Washington-based, Ross Johnson, who was at the centre of the most disgraceful episode of American corporate life in the 1980s, the greedy attempt to do an insider takeover of Itek Networks to make even more millions on top of his millions.

"What I'm trying to do," Johnson, "were the perks and the power, and the games are played in get them." He surrounded himself with sports superstars, corporate gigs and the opulence of a long, Mulroney and Ross became fast friends with Johnson and wife Louise. "The four of them would get together to do Montréal and celebrate success."

Is this really the type of companion one would like to see the prime minister of Canada competing with?

The most recent of a departing Canadian press conference writer walking idly on a Texas tennis in hopes that a storm will hit so he can report what a lot of our pride on a deleted generation is so lost in nostalgia. The efforts to see the case has been raised in Black House for me to see photo opportunity is depressing to the soul.

No point in trying to leave the spotlight, but this guy makes Harry Lauder and even Frank Sinatra seem dignified.

This story was that he was leaving his office for the good of the party, so—unless past divides when one Tory opposition leader—say another Tory opposition leader—should have a vector would pass the torch to a vector. But now, his ego is the driving force—not his proclaimed intention to ensure that a Conservative successor can beat John Cleese when the leaves fall this autumn.

In truth, this management attempt at moving attention to himself is destroying Kim Campbell and Jean Charest—already re-earning names of governmental excess, pretensions of an imperial frontier. Hope to make a *Chomikid* (selfish) for myself a major big city or the world score.

Only he knows how silly he seems.

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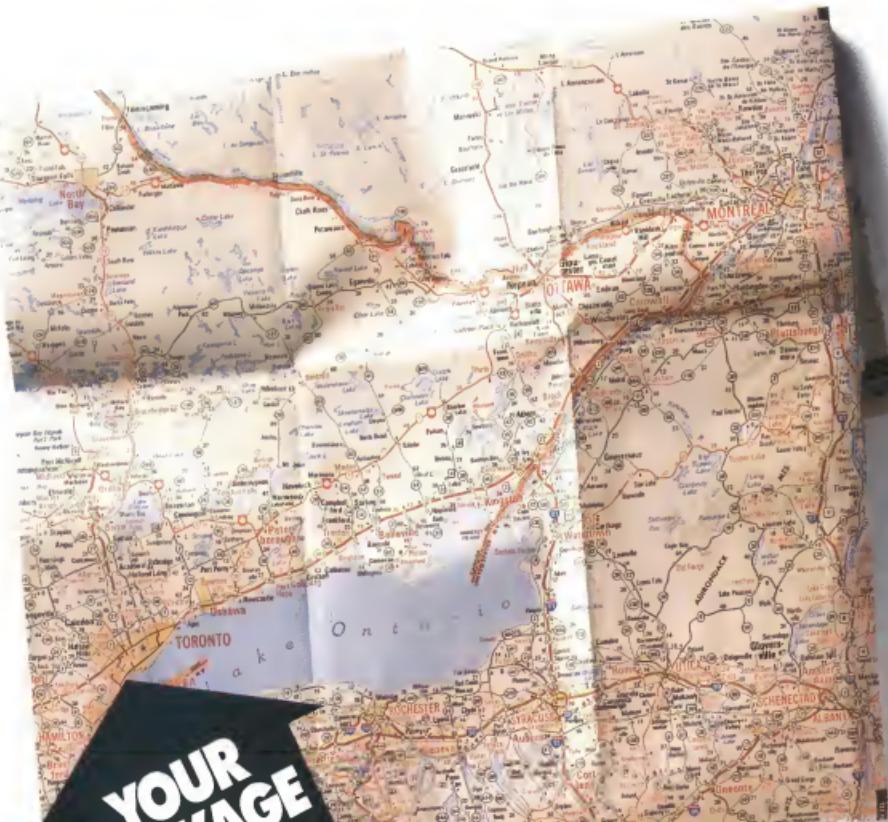
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